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Political & Social

Gorbachev Reportedly Met Kryuchkov Before Coup

BK2008013691 Melbourne Radio Australia in English 0100 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Excerpt] There has been unconfirmed reports that deposed Soviet leader, President Mikhail Gorbachev, had been flown back to Moscow and that he was consulted by hardline communists before they staged their coup. Monica Ekhardt has more in Moscow:

[Begin recording] [Ekhardt] Unconfirmed reports from President Yeltsin say that Mikhail Gorbachev was flown back to Moscow from the Crimea where he was holidaying on Saturday night. According to the report, he was taken to a meeting at the Kremlin with the KGB chief, Vladimir Kryuchkov; the interior minister, Boris Pugo; and the defense minister, Dmitriy Yazov.

He was reportedly asked to surrender his powers of president, but he refused and was then placed under house arrest. The emergency committee which has seized power says the president is safe and well in the Crimea. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Leaves Crimea Looking 'Completely Well'

LD2008074591 Berlin ADN in German 0123 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The toppled Soviet State President Mikhail Gorbachev is said to have left his place of residence on the Crimea. The Russian Agency RIA reported this morning, quoting unconfirmed reports, that he left the Crimean capital, Simferopol, already yesterday evening by air for an unknown destination. Eyewitness reports say that Gorbachev is said to have looked "completely well."

The Moscow coup perpetrators have claimed that the reason for their power takeover is the president's poor state of health.

Possibly in Custody in Moscow

OW2008100491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0950 GMT 20 Aug 91

[From "Express Edition No.3", transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Gennadiy Burbulis, Secretary of State of the Russian Federation, has said that, according to some reports, the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev is in Moscow under arrest. It has been impossible, however, to get into direct contact with him. Burbulis has given this information to people's deputies of the Russian Federation today.

The Central Committee of the CPSU has confirmed the reports that Gorbachev arrived in Moscow yesterday.

Yakovlev Unable To Contact President

LD1908212891 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Slovak 2015 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Telephone interview with Aleksandr Yakovlev, former adviser to Mikhail Gorbachev, by unidentified Bratislava station correspondent on 19 August; questions asked and Yakovlev answers in Russian with superimposed Slovak translation—recorded]

[Text] A little while ago our Bratislava colleagues managed to contact by phone Aleksandr Yakovlev, former advisor to Mikhail Gorbachev, in his apartment in Moscow. Aleksandr Yakovlev warned about the danger of a military and political coup in the country on Friday [16 August] when he was expelled from the CPSU. It is in fact the first interview given to foreign journalists by Yakovlev after the coup.

[Barac] Good afternoon, Aleksandr Nikolayevich, here is Igor Barac, Slovak Television editor from Bratislava, speaking. Could you tell us something about what happened in your country today, could you comment on it?

[Yakovlev] In my view this is a coup, a military coup. In my view this is an exhaustive answer to your question.

[Barac] How is the situation going to develop in your view?

[Yakovlev] This is very difficult to envisage now. People are still not fully aware of what has happened. We lack information. With the exception of the appeal by the president of Russia, people have been given almost nothing else. Television is not broadcasting and many newspapers have been banned.

[Barac] The whole world is now concerned about the fate of Mikhail Gorbachev—do you have any information about him?

[Yakovlev] This is what I am most interested in. I am interested in his health, life, and everything concerning him. This is what I am most interested in. I think that all the Soviet people are interested in the whereabouts of their President and what is happening to him.

[Barac] Have you taken any steps to discover where he is?

[Yakovlev] Yes, I have tried all sorts of things, but I did not succeed as telephone lines have been cut.

[Barac] Do you have any kind of contact with the Emergency State Committee in this situation?

[Yakovlev] No, none.

[Barac] What is your movement going to do in the next few days?

[Yakovlev] A decision was made to ban the activities of all the parties and organizations opposing the decree of

that so-called committee. I think that this ban applies also to our Movement of Democratic Reforms.

[Barac] Are you saying that you are going to observe this ban?

[Yakovlev] I cannot answer this as we are going to discuss this tomorrow.

Reportage on Gennadiy Yanayev's Activities

Places Moscow Under State of Emergency

CM2008121191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2

["Decree of the Acting President of the USSR 'On the Introduction of a State of Emergency in the City of Moscow'"]

[Text] In connection with the worsening situation in the city of Moscow, the capital of the USSR, caused by the failure to fulfill Decision No. 1 of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR of 19 August 1991 and by attempts to organize rallies, street marches, and demonstrations and by incidents involving incitement to riot, and in the interests of the protection and security of citizens, in accordance with Article 127/3 of the USSR Constitution I decree:

1. To declare a state of emergency in the city of Moscow from 19 August 1991.

2. To appoint as commandant of the city of Moscow Col-Gen N.V. Kalinin, commander of the forces of the Moscow Military District, who is invested with the rights to issue orders subject to compulsory fulfillment, regulating matters concerning the maintenance of the state of emergency regime.

[Signed] G. Yanayev, acting president of the USSR.

Answers Questions at News Conference

LD1908202191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Statement and news conference given by Gennadiy Ivanovich Yanayev, acting president of the USSR, with the participation of Oleg Baklanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Defence Council under the USSR president; Interior Minister Boris Pugo; Vasiliy Starodubtsev, chairman of the USSR Farmers' Union; Tizyakov, president of the Association of State Enterprises and Industrial, Construction, Transport, and Communications Facilities of the USSR; at the Foreign Ministry Press Center in Moscow on 19 August; video shows participants in news conference asking and responding to questions—recorded]

[Text] [Yanayev] Ladies and gentlemen, friends and comrades: As you already know from media reports, because Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is unable, owing to the state of his health, to discharge the duties of president of the USSR, and on the basis of Article 127/7 of the USSR Constitution, the USSR vice president has temporarily taken over the performance of the duties of the president.

I address you today, ladies and gentlemen, at a moment that is crucial for the destinies of the Soviet Union and the international situation throughout the world. Having embarked on the path of profound reforms and having gone a considerable way in this direction, the Soviet Union has now reached a point at which it finds itself faced with a deep crisis, the further development of which could both place in question the course of reforms itself as well as lead to serious cataclysms in international life.

It is of course no secret to you that a sharp fall in the output of the country, which has so far not been made good by the activity of the alternative industrial and agricultural structures, is creating a real threat to the further existence and development of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

A state of ungovernability and multiple authority has arisen in the country. All of this cannot fail to arouse extensive dissatisfaction among the people. A real threat of the country disintegrating has also arisen, with a collapse of the single economic space, of the single space for civil rights, a single defense and single foreign policy.

In such conditions normal life is impossible.

In many regions of the USSR, as a result of interethnic clashes, blood is being spilled and the collapse of the USSR would have the most serious consequences, not only internally, but also internationally.

In such conditions we have no alternative but to take decisive steps to stop the country sliding into disaster.

As you know, to govern the country and for the efficient implementation of the state of emergency a decision has been adopted to form a State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR made up of the following: Comrade Baklanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Defense Council; Comrade Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR KGB; Comrade Pavlov, prime minister of the USSR; Comrade Pugo, minister of internal affairs of the USSR; Comrade Starodubtsev, chairman of the Farmers' Union of the USSR; Comrade Tizyakov, president of the Associaton of State Enterprises and Industrial, Construction, Transport, and Communications Facilities of the USSR; Comrade Yazov, minister of defense of the USSR; and Yanayev, acting president of the USSR.

I would like to state today that the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR is fully aware of the depth of the crisis that has hit our country. It takes on itself responsibility for the fate of the motherland and is fully resolved to adopt the most serious measures to get the state and society out of the crisis as quickly as possible.

We promise to hold extensive nationwide discussion on the draft of a new Union treaty. Every citizen of the USSR will have the right and the chance to take part in this most important act in a calm atmosphere, and to make up their minds on it, for the fate of the numerous peoples of our great motherland will depend on what the union becomes.

We intend immediately to restore legality and law and order, to put an end to the bloodshed, to declare merciless war on the criminal world, and to eradicate the shameful occurences which discredit our society and which humiliate Soviet citizens. We will cleanse the streets of our cities of criminal elements, and put an end to the arbitrary rule of the plunderers of national property.

We advocate truly genuine, democratic processes and a consistent policy of reforms leading to the renewal of our homeland and to its economic and social prosperity enabling it to take a worthy place in the world community of nations. The development of the country must not be built on a drop in the living standards of the population. In a healthy society a constant increase in the well-being of all citizens will become the norm. Without relaxing our concern for strengthening the protection of the rights of the individual, we shall concentrate attention on protecting the interests of the broadest sections of the population, those who are most threatened by inflation, the disorganization of production, corruption, and crime.

In developing the mixed nature of the national economy, we will also support private enterprise, offering it the necessary opportunities for developing production and services.

Our priority task will be a solution to the food and housing problems. All existing forces will be mobilized toward satisfying these most vital demands of the people. We call upon the workers, peasants, the labour intelligentsia, and all Soviet people to restore labor discipline and order as quickly as possible and raise the level of production to subsequently move forward in a resolute manner. Our life and the future of our children and grandchildren, and the destiny of the motherland depend on this.

We are a peace-loving country and we shall unfailingly honor all the commitments we have undertaken. We have no claims upon anyone. We want to live in peace and friendship with everyone, but we state firmly that no one will ever be permitted to encroach upon our sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity. All attempts to speak with our country in the language of diktat, from whatever the source, will be resolutely cut short.

Our multinational people has for centuries lived, filled with pride for their homeland. We have not been ashamed of our patriotic feelings, and we consider it natural and regular to bring up the present and future generations of the citizens of our great power in this spirit. To stand idly by at this hour, which is critical for the destiny of our motherland, means to take upon oneself the gravest responsibility for the tragic and truly unpredictable consequences.

Everyone who holds our motherland dear, who wants to live and labor in a situation of calm and confidence, who does not accept the continuation of bloody interethnic conflicts, who sees his motherland independent and prosperous in the future, must make the sole correct choice. We call upon all true patriots, people of good will, to put an end to the present Time of Troubles [allusion to historical period of civil strife 1605-13]. We call upon all citizens of the Soviet Union to recognize their duty toward the motherland and to render assistance in every possible way to the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR in its efforts to bring the country out of crisis. Constructive suggestions from sociopolitical organizations, labor collectives and citizens will be gratefully accepted as a manifestation of patriotic readiness to take an active part in restoring the centuries-old friendship in a single family of fraternal peoples and in the revival of the motherland. Thank you for your attention.

[Correspondent, in English with Russian translation superimposed] NEWSWEEK magazine. Where is Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev? What is he sick with? Specifically, and concretely, what disease does he have? And against whom are the tanks that we see on the streets of Moscow directed? What is the purpose of those tanks? Thank you.

[Yanayev] I have to say that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev presently on vacation and undergoing treatment in the Crimea. He has, indeed, grown very tired over these past years and he will need some time to put his health in order. I would like to say that we hope that when he is recovered, Mikhail Sergeyevich will return to carying out his duties, and at any rate, we will continue to follow the course Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev began in 1985.

As for the state of emergency, it goes without saying that the state of emergency is being introduced, as I have already said, at a very difficult time, and to avoid any excesses of any kind we have been forced to take some measures for the safety of our citizens.

[Journalist] Ovcharenko from the newspaper PRAVDA. I have two questions. Perestroyka has not brought tangible results, among other reasons because there was an absence of a clearcut tactic and strategy for implementing it. Do you now have a concrete program for regenerating the country's economy? In particular, for instance, will laws passed earlier operate? Will the movement toward the market continue? And the second question: The Russian Information Agency today transmitted an appeal from Yeltsin, Silayev, and Khasbulatov to the citizens of Russia describing the events of the past night as a rightwing, reactionary, anticonstitutional coup. What is your attitude to that statement? And the

second part of this same question: That same appeal contained a call for a general indefinite strike. Well, in my view, such appeals could lead to the most tragic consequences. So, in this connection, will any specific actions be undertaken on this matter by the committee?

[Yanayev] I shall begin by answering the second question, so that Comrade Tizyakov might reply to the first question.

[Tizyakov] Indeed, the perestroyka announced in 1985, as you know—this is not a secret to anyone—has not produced the expected results that all of us were very much waiting for. Our economy today is in a most grave situation. Production is slumping. This has been brought about by a whole series of factors. Among these, of course, is the fact that such a restructuring was being carried out by us for the first time on such a scale. And, of course, there is also the fact that we were seeking ways, and are seeking ways, and in any endeavor it is always possible there might be certain things not properly worked out, errors, let's say.

What lies in store for us thereafter? The situation that had come about served in the main, of course, for the introduction of the state of emergency. You know that links are very broken in our country today—horizontal ones between enterprises. If one considers the preparations for 1991, no doubt many of the people sitting here know that at the end of the year, at the beginning of December, an all-Union assembly of directors was held. There the formation of links between enterprises in all regions was indeed looked at. We managed to get this problem moving in a very meaningful way and at the beginning of January we had already concluded agreements covering 85 percent of movements of output in the technological cycle. This apparently created certain conditions but later on, in a whole series of so-called sovereignty-related measures that were carried out, this gave rise to the closure of borders and recently in particular relations between enterprises were blocked by republics like the Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltic republics, and other republics. This created an extremely difficult situation for the work of enterprises. Our enterprises began to turn over to no purpose in their work. Production facilities were stopped and there was uncertainty among the labor collectives and of course this had its effect.

What will our actions be like? First and foremost they will be aimed at stabilizing the economy and naturally we are not giving up and we are not cancelling our reforms which are aimed at moving toward the market. We consider that this will be correct. The only thing is that we are going to have to work it through more precisely and organize things on a higher level in management and in all our actions.

[Yanayev] I will answer the second question. Indeed today when the Soviet people were informed about the formation of the Committee for the State of Emergency, I, like several other members of the committee. had contact with the leaders of all nine republics that stated their willingness to enter the renewed union federation.

We have been in contact with the leadership of many krays and oblasts of the Soviet Union, and I can say that on the whole, there is support for the formation of the committee and the committee's attempt to extricate the country from the state of crisis that it is in.

I had a conversation with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin today. I know about the statement by Boris Nikolayevich, Comrade Khasbulatov, and Comrade Silayev, and I would like to stress today that the State Committee for the State of Emergency is prepared to cooperate with the leadership of the republics, krays, and oblasts, being guided in this by our aspiration to find such adequate forms of developing our democracy and raising the economy, developing culture, guaranteeing human rights, which might provide us with the possibility of coping as effectively as possible with the problems we are currently coming up against.

I expect that if we had the readiness of Russia's leadership for such cooperation, we would be able to find ways for this cooperation.

I think that the appeal to join a general indefinite strike is an irresponsible appeal, and evidently, we cannot afford the luxury of playing some political games when the country is in a state of chaos. Because, ultimately, the majority of these political games turn against our long-suffering people. If we are not indifferent to the fate of our fatherland, if we are not indifferent to Russia's fate, we should find really practical forms of cooperation.

[Journalist in Russian] The Italian newspaper LA STAMPA: Two questions for Mr. Yanayev. The first question: Can you tell us what the state of your health is? The second question: A state of emergency can be introduced, according to the Constitution, by the president of the country, or by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, with mandatory agreement from a republic. None of these three parties adopted this decision, and no formation of any committee of public salvation or whatever is provided for. Do you intend to convene a meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet immediately?

[Yanayev] As for my health, I think it is all right, it allows me to work 16-17 hours a day, and as you can see, I am alive, sitting here before you. I do not look too bad, despite the fact that we really did have a sleepless night last night.

As for the introduction of the state of emergency, we took as our premise, and do proceed from this fact, that there can be critical situations requiring immediate actions, and we intend to apply for confirmation of the powers to introduce the state of emergency to the USSR Supreme Soviet, which will be convened on 27 August.

[Journalist] Stefanov from Central Television: I have a question for Gennadiy Ivanovich Yanayev. In its message to the people, the State Committee for the State of

Emergency in the USSR stated that it will concern itself first and foremost with the interests of the broadest strata of the population and will strive to resolve the food and housing problems. Would you say what steps, specific steps, you envisage for this, and what resources, what reserves the state committee has at its disposal?

[Yanayev] You know, this question is indeed a very interesting, a very important question. The first step that we intend to take is to do the maximum possible to save the harvest. It looks as if we will be adopting the relevant document tomorrow, which will orient us toward adopting emergency measures to save the harvest. Further, we intend to make use of every opportunity the state has, first of all, to carry out a kind of stock-taking of everything that there is in the country. As you recall, we said in the statement that once we have done this stock-taking, it is necessary to tell the people what we have, including material resources that we can mobilize to get ahead on the housing problem.

[Yanayev] For the last three years we have been building housing very badly, and many citizens expected that we would carry out the housing program which we spoke of at the very outset of perestroyka—unfortunately we didn't prove up to it, and so I think that we are now faced with three very important tasks: The first is food supplies, the second is housing, and the third is transport and energy, because we are approaching winter. The situation in the energy sector is extremely tense at present, and extraordinary measures are also essential here so that we should not bring the country to a grave situation in the winter period.

[Journalist] ARGUMENTY I FAKTY weekly, Makarov. Tell us, apart from his post of president, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is also general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Who is to carry out the duties of general secretary? And my second question is that it has become known today that a number of papers, including ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, KURANTY, STOLITSA, and a few more have been declared closed. For how long have these papers been closed and when will they reopen? Thank you.

[Yanayev] I think that if we are introducing a state of emergency regime we shall have to reregister some of our mass publications. Reregister. We are not talking about the closure of papers, we are talking about reregistering, because the chaos that the country found itself in was to a large extent the fault of some of the mass media.

As for the post of general secretary, I wouldn't like to comment on it. We have a deputy general secretary, he is capable and is working. I think that a party Central Committee plenum, or a congress will be able to solve this question. I am now carrying out the duties of the president, and therefore I would not like to use my authority, or lack of it, in order to influence the decision of party bodies.

[Journalist] ROMPRES agency, for Mr Yanayev: please tell me what responses you have received from the address to the governments of the world and to the UN Secretary General? Thank you.

[Yanayev] I must say that their reaction is fairly restrained on the whole, since for the time being there appears to be very little factual material in order to adopt a committed stand. I am acquainted with the latest statement by President Bush in which he expresses the hope that those foreign political obligations which the Soviet Union took upon itself will be fulfilled. I confirmed this today while speaking to you, and we confirmed this in our statement immediately after forming the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

[Correspondent] Travkin from the NOVOSTI information agency. I have two questions, to Boris Karlovich Pugo and to Comrade Starodubtsev. Boris Karlovich, recently a lot was said and written about the need to wage war against crime. What new things do you propose to introduce now to tackle this issue? My second question, to Comrade Starodubtsev. What do you think—you have ties with the peasant masses—will the peasant masses support the Committee for the State of Emergency? Thank you.

[Pugo] Answering a question on the state of the campaign against crime, I would like to say that one should probably not believe that measures will be found or proposed which are completely and fundamentally new and which have not been used before. I think that, above all, we must proceed from the fact that law enforcement bodies, all law enforcement bodies, must significantly improve their everyday work. We must be more demanding of employees. In particular, I now represent the Ministry of Internal Affairs and we must be more demanding of Ministry of Internal Affairs employees.

We must give an opportunity to professionals to show themselves better. It is precisely the professionals on whom we should rely. This is my credo of the work at the Ministry of Internal Affairs. I think that in this way we will manage to achieve a lot.

If to speak about some specific ways, then I think that in many towns—in more than 500 towns—such methods as joint patrolling on streets were justified.

You remember that initially this measure was met with some suspicion, but it has proved very efficient. I can even recall that not long ago Leningrad Mayor Sobchak also took recourse in using this form of work.

We must revive our relations with the public. But the main thing, in my view, is that we leaders of law enforcement bodies must work in such a way as to reveal all the potential of our staff.

[Starodubtsev] In perestroyka the heaviest losses have been borne by the peasantry, naturally. This year in particular has dealt the most crushing blow to the peasantry; and the majority of state farms, collective

farms, and the newly born farm economies are on the verge of catastrophe today. The price parity between the town and the village has been upset. Lack of fuel and spares and a sharp decline in deliveries of equipment and other materials to agriculture lead, frankly, to a grave state for the peasantry. I think that driven to dispair, the peasantry hopes today that order will be introduced at last and that the eyes of everyone in our society will be turned to the peasantry and will help it to rise to its feet and see a revival.

[Journalist] (?Malkina), from the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. Could you please say whether or not you understand that last night you carried out a coup d'etat? What comparison seems more apt to you, the comparison with 1917 or with 1964? This is the first question. The second question concerns newspapers. First, how long will it take to reregister newspapers and what criterion will decide whether or not a particular publication should be reregistered? Who will deal with this? Will political censorship be introduced in the reregistered publications? Thank you.

[Yanayev] With regard to the reregistration of newspapers, we will try not to drag out this process. I would not like to comment now on the criteria that will be used as the basis for this reregistration.

As for your allegation that a coup d'etat was staged last night, I would beg to disagree with you, inasmuch as we are basing ourselves on constitutional norms. And I assume that confirmation by the USSR Supreme Soviet of the decision we have made will enable us to state that absolutely all the juridical and so-called constitutional norms have been observed. It does not seem to me correct to draw a comparison either with 1917 or 1964. I believe any analogy here is simply dangerous.

[Journalist, in English] A question from the CORRIERE DELLA SERA. It is a question about Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Did you discuss with the president your take-over of power? Did he agree with you? Why is there no medical report on the state of his health? And a second question: Bearing in mind the wording of your communique, did you ask for advice from General Pinochet? Thank you. [applause]

[Yanayev] I imagine that....

[Unidentified speaker interrupts] Please refrain from displaying emotion; this is a press conference we are having here.

[Yanayev] I imagine that at some time we will publish the medical findings on Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's state of health. As far as concerns your assertion that we took power from President Gorbachev, I would like to express disagreement with that, too, because what we are talking about is a temporary inability on the part of the president to fulfill his duties by virtue of the state of his health. And in accordance with the Constitution, the duties of the president pass temporarily to the vice president or the chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

[Journalist] The ADN German agency. Could you tell whether or not the introduction of a state of emergency will affect the fulfillment of treaties with Germany, in particular, the time limits for Soviet troop withdrawal from Germany, and is there any reaction from Chancellor Kohl?

[Yanayev] I have already said it in my statement and we have mentioned it in the statement published by the State Committee for the State of Emergency that we confirm obligations taken upon itself by the Soviet Union in the field of foreign policy, including those obligations we have to the FRG or the united Germany.

[Lomakin] Two questions to Gennadiy Ivanovich Yanayev. The first question: You have said that you consulted the heads of the Union republics regarding the present situation. How could you forecast the development of the situation in the republics which did not join the Nine plus One agreement or which have postponed the signing of the Union treaty? And the second question: Do you have a plan of actions aimed at the cessation of interethnic conflicts, and what is it like?

[Yanayev] Yes, indeed, we have a program of activities aimed at lowering the tension which exists in the field of interethnic relations. We have very specific plans connected with settling problems between Armenia and Azerbaijan. We have very specific suggestions on settling other interethnic problems, and I think that this is one of the most important problems presently faced by the country. And the leadership of the country, the leadership of the State Committee for the State of Emergency must deal with these problems in the most immediate way possible. I should say that we, indeed, have talked virtually to the majority of leaders of the Union republics. I met the leaders of Russian autonomies today. Fifteen leaders of those autonomies were present. And I have to tell you straight away that we got the support of both the autonomies and of the absolute majority of the republics for our intention to establish order in the country and to save the country.

[Journalist] Novosti Television. Gennadiy Ivanovich, could you decode the statement that the state of emergency has been introduced in individual places? What does "individual places" mean, and where are they located, geographically? That is the first question. And a second question: When will journalists be able to meet Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev?

[Yanayev] You know, as soon as Mikhail Sergeyevich's state of health permits, I think he will be pleased to have a meeting with journalists, and with representatives of the mass media.

As for the state of emergency, I am acting on the premise that there is no need to introduce a state of emergency throughout the whole country. There are regions where such problems have indeed accumulated that it is hard to find a solution to those problems without extraordinary measures. At the same time, though, I see that in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, for example, there is no

need to introduce a state of emergency, since the situation there is, generally, fairly stable. I cannot give the number yet, since there have still passed some... [indistinct interjection referring to Moscow] I think that Moscow is a state of emergency zone, and the state of emergency will be introduced in Moscow from today.

[Aleksandr Bovin] I have a question for Comrade Starodubtsev. Could you say specifically, let us put it this way, who either elected you to this committee or invited you into the committee, or how did you land up in this company? How did it happen, specifically? [laughter]

[Chairman] If you are interested in the details, then by all means.

[Starodubtsev] The vice-president, in setting up the committee, naturally invited me, as chairman of the Peasants' Union of our country; and I, also naturally, could not refuse to participate in the committee's work at this difficult moment for the peasantry.

[Unidentified journalist] A question for Comrade Baklanov. Esteemed Comrade Baklanov, please say what measures you plan to take in order to solve, specifically, the housing and food program for servicemen, who have been literally in a disastrous position in some regions since the withdrawal of our troops?

[Baklanov] I have to say that the meaning of our measures consists in concentrating these existing resources so as now to force through the building of housing for servicemen and their families. You probably know this figure, it is something like 200,000 families in need, and this is, of course, a manifestly abnormal state of affairs. We have to use our resources, and we have to use the resources that, in accordance with the accords, we are to receive from foreign states. That is where the meaning lies.

[Yanayev] I would like to reply to your question regarding President Yeltsin's decree on banning party activity. I believe that all decrees and all resolutions that are to be adopted will be examined from the point of view of the state of emergency we are introducing in the country. But taking advantage of this opportunity I would like to stress: What the leadership of the Russian Federation is currently engaged in—building barricades, appealing for disobedience—I think that this is a very dangerous policy, and this policy could lead to the organization of some kind of armed provocation, so as, afterward, to lay the blame for the tension, for some kind of excess that might occur, on the leadership of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. We would like to give a very serious warning of this to all Soviet people, especially to the people of Moscow, where a state of emergency has been introduced. We hope that calm and order will be ensured.

[Journalist] AL-ITTIHAD, United Arab Emirates. Mr. Yanayev, this is now the first news conference given by the interim president of the USSR and your obligations include many things. At this time can you give us a guarantee, or your word, an oath to the public that everything will be all right with the health of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

[Yanayev] I must tell you that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is completely safe. There is no danger to him. The only thing is that a certain amount of time is needed simply for him to recover his strength. Naturally, ladies and gentlemen, working in a regime like the one that President Gorbachev has been working in these past six years, the organism gets somewhat worn out. I hope that my friend President Gorbachev will get back into commission and that we will work together again.

[Journalist] Marina Chernukhin, INTERFAX. Please tell me, you have mentioned that every citizen of the USSR will have the opportunity to carefully consider his position regarding the Union treaty and to clarify it in some way. Does this mean that a referendum will be conducted? And another thing, what is the position of the Emergency Committee with regard to the Baltic republics, Georgia, and Armenia which—oh yes and Moldova—do not intend to sign the Union treaty? And did Mikhail Sergeyevich know that a state of emergency was being introduced today and about the setting up of this committee? Thank you.

[Yanayev] As far as the setting up of this committee is concerned, the committee, as someone from among our colleagues said, was set up last night. I think that President Gorbachev understands and will understand us, that in actual fact at a time when the country is in a critical situation we will have to find some kind of effective measures to get the country out of this critical situation.

As for our attitude to the Baltic republics, to Moldova, Georgia, and Armenia, that is those republics that have stated that they are not prepared to sign the Union treaty at the present time, our position is immutable. President Gorbachev has repeatedly made it public. We will respect the will of the people.

[Journalist] The magazine VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS [Questions of CPSU History] Tyurin, editor. I have a question for Gennadiy Ivanovich. Gennadiy Ivanovich, first and foremost a question to you as a member of the Politburo. What is the assessment, what is the reaction, the action of the Politburo, of the Secretariat, to all that has happened? First to you as a member of the Politburo. Second, are you sure—and if you are sure, on what is your certainty based—that all the reforms about which we all, millions of Soviet people, have heard today, will be supported by the people? You see, if the opposite should be the case, you will turn out to be a commander without an army. That's it. Thank you.

[Yanayev] Well, first of all, I would like to tell you that I am not a member of the Politburo, and I think that such an interesting and respectable magazine could have known those who comprise our Politburo. Good, I am a member of the Central Committee, yes. And by the way, I am proud to be a member of the CPSU Central

Committee. As for the attitude of the Central Committee Politburo and the Secretariat, we have not discussed this issue with the party leadership as yet. We will hold consultations with them. But supported by sentiments which exist in the party and supported by sentiments which exist in society I very much count on the fact that we won't be commanders without an army because the people demand that elementary order in the country be established. And so, supported by these sentiments we have to do our best to actually pull the country out of this situation we found ourselves in.

[Chairman] Please go ahead, Mexican television.

[Journalist, in Russian] (Pateres), Mexican television. The chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council warned at a news conference today that he will not subject himself to the decision of the committee. What is your attitude to this? What measures will be taken in Lithuania to ensure that they are bound by the introduction of the state of emergency? And also a question for Mr. Yanayev. Please say to what extent your government is temporary? Will presidential elections be called?

[Yanayev] I believe that I have taken upon myself the duties of acting president on a temporary basis, as I have already stated, and I expect that as the situation in the country is normalized we will move to direct elections of the president of the Soviet Union in accordance with those democratic principles, so to speak, that we have spoken about.

[Journalist] The NOVOSTI information agency, (Vladimir Ryabinnikov). My question is to Boris Karlovich Pugo. So today, from approximately 1500 in the afternoon, inhabitants of Moscow are looking at the tanks standing around the press center. How do you technically see the organization of this regime—as I understood from the reply given by Gennadiy Ivanovich—in Moscow given the situation which exists today? Hundreds, maybe thousands of people will start for the airports today and for places far away from the capital. How is this regime going to be put into effect?

[Pugo] The introduction of military hardware, even including troops, onto the territory of Moscow, well, it is already completely evident that this is a wholly forced measure. It has been taken only to prevent any disturbance of order in Moscow, to prevent any casualties. That is our chief purpose. As for how things will be controlled, I at least see the development of events in the following way: Provided nobody forces us to extend it or to make it too long-term an arrangement, we would favor withdrawing all military units and hardware from Moscow as soon as possible.

[Yanayev] We do not envisage a curfew.

[Pugo] But that is something that comes within the jurisdiction of the Moscow commandant. If it should suddenly come about that this is necessary, well that is within his jurisdiction. But we did not calculate for this. We did not consider it necessary to do that today.

[Journalist] KOMMERSANT and the POSTFAKTUM news agency. Gennadiy Ivanovich, there are eight people on your committee, an even number. It is difficult for voting. How will you tackle this issue, perhaps you will coopt someone there, say, Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov? And the second question: Is an investigation possible into individual cases in Comrade Gorbachev's activity? Say, participation in the deal on the Tengiz oil price?

[Yanayev] I think we will make decisions by consensus. We take note of your recommendation regarding Comrade Lukyanov, but we believe that there should, nevertheless, be a division of functions, and the chairman of the Supreme Soviet should be chairman of the Supreme Soviet. You know, I can't say anything about the oil....

[KOMMERSANT journalist] Is such an investigation at all possible?

[Yanayev] I consider that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has done an immeasurable amount for the democratic processes that began in the country in 1985. This is a man who deserves all manner of respect and not investigation, if you will forgive me. He is not a state criminal. [applause] He is a man who has done everything to enable us to embark on this democratic path. And the last question, please.

[Journalist, in English] ASSOCIATED PRESS, for Mr. Yanayev. Can you please tell us if your committee is prepared to order the use of force against civilians? And under what conditions would force be used against civilians?

[Yanayev] First, I would like to do everything to ensure that the use of force against civilians is not required. We must do everything to prevent any excesses. And what we are envisaging now, some extraordinary measures, they are not at all linked with any attack on human rights. On the contrary, we want to protect human rights as much as possible. And I would like to hope very much that we will not be compelled, we will not be provoked into using some kind of force against the civilian population.

Denies Coup, Views Gorbachev Status

LD1908175791 Moscow TASS in English 1726 GMT 19 Aug 91

[By Konstantin Voitsekhovich, Boris Zverev, and Yuri Sizov: "Urgent—Yanayev Denies Emergency Measures Are State Coup"]

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—The state-of-emergency committee is going to ask parliament, which opens a special session on August 26, to confirm its powers to impose a state of emergency, acting Soviet President Gennady Yanayev told a news conference here today.

Asked about the suspended publication of several Soviet dailies, he said that state-of-emergency conditions

require the re-registration of some news outlets. He stressed, however, that what he means is "not a foreclosure but a re-registration".

"Some mass media are also to blame for the chaos that the country has been plunged in," Yanayev said. He added, however, that the authorities will try not to drag out the re-registration process.

He disagreed when one reporter claimed that "a coup d'etat took place last night". Yanayev explained that the state-of-emergency committee relies on constitutional provisions and that he believes parliament will confirm the decisions taken.

He said also that "comparisons of today's events with those in 1917 and 1964 do not appear correct to me". "Any analogies here are simply dangerous," he added.

Commenting on Mikhail Gorbachev's state of health, Yanayev said that a relevant medical conclusion will be made public "in its time". Disagreeing that President Gorbachev was deposed, he emphasised that "we are talking about the president's temporary inability, owing to his state of health, to perform his duties".

Yanayev reiterated the Soviet leadership's intention to honour obligations assumed by the USSR in foreign policy, including the agreed schedule of the Soviet troop pull-out from Germany.

Yanayev asserted that the Soviet leadership has a program of action to defuse ethnic tension. "We have most specific plans for a settlement between Armenia and Azerbaijan," he said. "We also have most specific proposals for settling other ethnic problems."

Yanayev said that ethnic problems are among those the country has to tackle as a priority.

He revealed that the emergency committee contacted "practically most leaders of union republics" and the leaders of autonomous republics in the Russian federation. "We received support from both autonomous entities and the absolute majority of republican leaders for our intention to restore order to the country," Yanayev said.

Asked about a possible news conference by Gorbachev, he said that as soon as Gorbachev's health permits it, "he will be glad to meet the press".

Yanayev said that Gorbachev "is completely safe and nothing threatens him". "I think that my friend, President Gorbachev, will get back into the ranks and we shall be able to work again together," he said.

Yanayev said he doesn't believe there is any need to declare a state of emergency throughout the country. He explained that in some regions there are mountains of problems that are very hard to resolve without a state of emergency. At the same time, for example, in Kazakhstan or Uzbekistan there is no need to impose a state of emergency, because the situation there is stable enough, he said.

Yanayev described actions by the Russian republic's leaders as "very dangerous policies".

Speaking of the attitude to republics unwilling or unprepared to sign a Union treaty now, he said that the national leadership will continue to "respect the expression of will by peoples".

Asked about how long he will remain acting president, Yanayev said that "as the situation in the country normalises, we shall call a direct presidential election".

He also expressed the desire "to do everything lest it be necessary to recourse to force against the civilian population".

"We should do everything to prevent any excesses," Yanayev stressed. He insisted that the emergency measures "are not at all connected with any offensive on human rights".

Hopes Gorbachev Will Return to Duties

LD1908150791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1452 GMT 19 Aug 91

["Press conference by Gennadiy Yanayev, acting USSR president"]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 19 Aug (TASS)—[passage omitted] Speaking of the state of health of Mikhail Gorbachev, Gennadiy Yayayev said that "he is now on holiday and undergoing treatment in the Crimea." "These really have been very tiring years for him and he needs time to put his health in order," stressed the acting president of the USSR. He also expressed the hope that "when he is better Mikhail Gorbachev would return to carrying out his duties." [passage omitted]

On Further Pursuing Gorbachev Policy

LD1908151991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1452 GMT 19 Aug 91

[By Konstantin Voytsekhovich, Boris Zverev, and Yuriy Sizov: "Press conference by Gennadiy Yanayev, acting USSR president"]

[Text] [No dateline as received] Gennadiy Yanayev, acting president of the USSR, expressed the intention of the Soviet leadership "to further pursue" the policy started in 1985 by Mikhail Gorbachev at a press conference today. Also taking part in it are Oleg Baklanov, first deputy chairman of the Defense Council under the USSR president; Boris Pugo, USSR minister of internal affairs; Vasiliy Starodubtsev, chairman of the USSR Peasant's Union; and Aleksandr Tizyakov, president of

the USSR Association of State Enterprises and Industrial, Construction, Transport and Communications Facilities.

Speaking of the state of health of Mikhail Gorbachev, Gennadiy Yanayev said that "he is now on holiday and undergoing treatment in the Crimea." "These really have been very tiring years for him and he needs time to put his health in order," stressed the acting president of the USSR. He also expressed the hope that "when he is better Mikhail Gorbachev will return to carrying out his duties."

Vows 'Serious Measures' To Be Used

LD1908173791 Moscow TASS in English 1711 GMT 19 Aug 91

[By Konstantin Voitsekhovich, Boris Zverev, and Yuriy Sizov]

[Text] Moscow 19 Aug TASS—Acting President of the USSR, Gennady Yanayev told a news conference here today that the State Committee for the State of Emergency of the USSR is determined to take most serious measures to overcome the crisis of the state and society as soon as possible".

He said that the present moment "is important for the destinies of the Soviet Union and the international situation in the world". Yanayev said that by taking this road of profound reforms and covering considerable stretch in this direction the USSR "has now faced profound crisis whose further development can call in question the very course of reforms and lead to serious cataclysms in international affairs".

Yanayev said that a sharp fall off of production in the country which is so far not compensated for by alternative industrial and agricultural structures creates a real threat to the further existence and development of peoples of the USSR.

He said that the situation in the country got out of control and there are multiple authorities. "All this cannot but cause wide-spread dissatisfaction of the population", Yanayev said. He said that there is a real threat of the country's disintegration and of the disarray of the single economic space, of the single space of civil rights, united defense and unified foreign policy.

Noting that blood has spilt in many districts of the country as a result of ethnic clashes, Yanayev said that "disintegration of the USSR would have grave internal and international consequences". "In these conditions we have no choice. We must take [word indistinct] measures to [word indistinct] country's sliding to catasrophy."

"We declare for genuine democratic processes, for a consistent policy of reforms leading to a renewal of our motherland, to its economic and social flourishing", Yanayev said. He noted that "the country's development must not be based on the erosion of the population's living standards" and that "a constant increase of the well-being of all citizens will become norm in a sound society".

Yanayev declared that the State of Emergency Committee, continuing to care for the strengthening of the protection of human rights, intends to concentrate the attention on the protection of the interests of broad sections of the populations, of all those who are threatened most of all by inflation, disorganisation of production, corruption and crime.

Yanayev said that developing the multimode national economy, the State of Emergency Committee will also be supporting private enterprise giving it the necessary opportunities for development of production and services.

The USSR will be unswervingly observing all the obligations assumed, the acting president said. "We wish to live in peace and friendship with everyone, but we firmly declare that no one will ever be allowed to encroach on our sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity", he said. "Any attempts to speak with our country in the language of diktat, no matter who may attempt this, will be decisively disrupted".

Yanayev declared the intention to restore law and order, to put an end to bloodletting, to wage a merciless war on crime, "to eradicate disgraceful phenomena discrediting society and insulting Soviet citizens".

"The solution of the food and housing problems will be our priority tasks", Yanayev said. He proclaimed the intention to conduct a broad country-wide discussion of the draft new Union treaty, and said that the form of discussion is yet to be established.

Oversight Committee Views Yanayev Actions

CM2008140191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 91 Second Edition p 3

["At the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee"]

[Text] The Chairman of the Soviet Constitutional Oversight Committee Sergey Alekseyev and committee members Sergey Boskholov, Safa Abbas Ogly Mirzoyev, Mikhail Piskotin and Vadim Filimonov have adopted a statement, which says the following:

"Having acquainted ourselves with the official acts, reporting the inability of Mikhail Gorbachev to perform the duties of Soviet president due to the state of his health, the taking over [of] the Soviet president's duties by Gennadiy Yanayev, the introduction of the state of emergency in some Soviet areas, the creation of the State Committee for the State of Emergency and the transference to it of the functions of the supreme body of state authority in the USSR, members of the Soviet Constitutional Oversight Committee consider it their duty to state that such measures can be legally justified only

under the condition of strictest observance of demands of the Constitution and other Soviet laws."

The statement noted that before considering the issue of taking these acts to their consideration and legal estimation, committee members address the Supreme Soviet of the USSR as a standing legislative and control body of the Soviet state power with an inquiry:

Whether or not, in accordance with item 15 of Article 127 (3) of the Soviet Constitution, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR intends to consider the issue of confirmation of the decree of the acting Soviet president on the introduction of the state of emergency in some Soviet areas.

In connection with the creation of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, members of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee attract attention to the fact that, in accordance with item 13 of Article 113 of the Soviet Constitution and the part 13 of Article 2 of the Soviet Law "On the Legal Regime of the State of Emergency," the state of emergency throughout the country can be introduced only by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Having corresponding information, the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee will continue to act in accordance with the status and the procedure envisaged by Article 124 of the Soviet Constitution and the law on constitutional oversight in the USSR, the statement says.

Defense Ministry Denies Claims of 'Military Coup'

PM1908155491 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Aug 91 First Edition p 2

[By N. Belan from USSR Defense Ministry incorporating interview with unidentified USSR Defense Ministry Information Directorate aide 19 August, as part of four-page feature under general heading: "Support for Resolute Measures"]

[Text] On the streets of Moscow there are tanks, infantry combat vehicles, armored carriers. The USSR Defense Ministry building, where we went first thing this morning to clarify the situation, is encircled by a solid ring of combat equipment. We received an answer from the USSR Defense Ministry Information Directorate to our readers' numerous questions, first and foremost: What is this, is it a military coup?.

"The use of the term 'military coup' is entirely inappropriate and inapplicable to the present situation," they explained to us. "The fact is that the legitimate organs of state power that exist in our country, on the basis of the existing USSR Constitution and within the framework of unionwide laws, in particular the USSR Law 'On the Legal Regime of a State of Emergency,' are adopting a number of measures to maintain stability in society and safeguard the population's existence. In practice the specific measures, objectives, tasks, and main parameters of these measures are specified in the relevant statements—by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet leadership, and appeals—to the Soviet people and to the heads of states and governments and the UN secretary general.

A military coup, as you know, means a change of power or the abolition of state organs, which has not happened here—indeed there is not even a hint of it. Life is following its usual pattern and transportation, enterprises, organizations, and institutions are functioning normally. Measures are being adopted to safeguard facilities that are of vital importance to the state and to the population's peaceful life. To this end the law enforcement organs are implementing measures stipulated in the law 'On the Legal Regime of a State of Emergency' and in the resolution of the State Committee on the State of Emergency in the USSR.

"Certain troop subunits, which you have seen particularly in the streets of Moscow, are acting within the framework of the aforementioned USSR law and the resolution of the State Committee on the State of Emergency in the USSR. They have been set the task of assisting the law enforcement organs in ensuring order and citizens' normal activity. So all the measures without exception, including the bringing in of certain Soviet Army subunits to safeguard the state of emergency regime, are being implemented within the framework of the USSR Constitution and on the basis of existing legislation."

[Belan] In which places, which regions of the country is the state of emergency being imposed?

[Spokesman] The state of emergency regime will be imposed and implemented in those regions where the actual situation so dictates. Wherever people work normally and live normally, unhindered by extremist, national-separatist, and other destructive forces, there is no need to impose a state of emergency. But where these forces or criminal elements raise their heads and try to provoke disorders, wreck the normal regime of enterprises' activity, or carry out any actions that destabilize the situation or entail a threat to citizens' lives and safety, here appropriate measures will certainly be adopted in accordance with the law.

I emphasize: The state of emergency regime which the country's leadership has been forced to adopt in the regions in question is not directed against people who want to live and work in peace. On the contrary, it is in defense of the working people and their interests. Ultimately in defense of their lives, their safety, against the rampant crime wave that has recently swamped many cities, villages, and even rayons against the background of the war of laws, or more accurately lawlessness.

[Belan] Our readers are concerned about this question: Will the changes that have come about change ordinary people's lives for the worse?

[Spokesman] Undoubtedly the imposition of a state of emergency will affect the life and general social state of

the working people and will cause corresponding changes. But only—and this is unequivocal—for the better.

Groups Endorse State of Emergency Committee

Cabinet of Ministers

LD2008091591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0835 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 20 Aug (TASS)—Urgent tasks arising from the statement by the Soviet leadership and the decisions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR were examined by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers on Monday. It is officially reported here today that the USSR Cabinet of Ministers has supported these decisions aimed at overcoming the profound political and economic crisis that has gripped the country and which threatens the very existence of the Soviet state and at restoring legality and law and order and ensuring the normal functioning of the national economy as a most important condition for the vital activity of society and the stabilization of the situation.

As we stressed at the session, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers should be focusing its attention on issues of organizing procurement, storage, processing, and distribution of food and of supplying the national economy and the population of the country with fuel and energy. Within the framework of the strategic course of continuing economic reform, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers will direct its efforts into overcoming destabilizing phenomena in economic life while fulfilling its functions in accordance with the USSR Constitution and laws in close cooperation with republican and local bodies of government.

The USSR Cabinet of Ministers supported the decision of 17 August by its presidium which approved in principle the text of the Union treaty and at the same time called for the adoption, as an inalienable part of the treaty, of a package of proposals envisaging machinery for implementing the provisions of the treaty and ensuring the functioning of the economy of the country and of the sovereign republics throughout the transition period.

Veterans Council

LD1908162691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1525 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 19 Aug (TASS)—The All-Union Council of Veterans of War, Labor, and the USSR Armed Forces and the Soviet Committee of War Veterans have made an address to all veterans of the Soviet Union. It states in particular:

The All-Union Council of Veterans and the Soviet Committee of War Veterans wholly and fully supports the creation of the State Committee for the Emergency Situation in the USSR and the declaration of a state of emergency in individual localities of the country. In the extremely difficult crisis situation which has taken shape, this measure is not only necessary but is completely justified and inevitable. We express confidence that it will be supported by all veterans of war, labor, and of the USSR Armed Forces.

We appeal to every veteran, to all patriots, and to anyone who holds dear the fate of our country, to acknowledge their civic duty, and to show responsibility, discipline, and steadfastness at this decisive moment in the history of the state. It is our duty to render all-around practical assistance in implementing the measures taken by the country's leadership to save the socialist fatherland, to stabilize the political situation, to prevent economic collapse, and to ensure the security and well-being of every Soviet person.

We have become convinced, on the basis of our experience of life, that only a united, strong state and the friendship of the peoples are able to insure the fundamental interests of every Soviet person, and to protect us from approaching hunger and out-and-out lawlessness. Today we appeal to veterans to do all they can to restore the country's greatness and the happiness and prosperity of our peoples.

Emergency Committee Warns Russian Leaders

LD1908192091 Moscow TASS in English 1846 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—The following statement by the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR was published here today. It says:

"Already the first day of the state of emergency in some parts of the USSR showed that people sighed with some relief. No serious excesses have been reported anywhere. The State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR receives numerous appeals of citizens pledging support for the measures to take the country out of the acute crisis. The first reaction abroad to the events in our country is also characterised by certain understanding, because the worst possible scenario, which most of all worries all foreign states, is chaos and anarchy in our nuclear country. Naturally, both inside our society and abroad mistrust and apprehension are expressed in connection with the introduction of the state of emergency. They are not ungrounded: In the past few years, unfortunately, very often real deeds in our state had nothing to do with the proclaimed goals. People's hopes were often betrayed. This time we will do everything so that the activity of the Soviet leadership deserves trust.

"The measures, necessitated by the extremely acute situation, are supported in most union and autonomous republics of our motherland. People understand that the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR is in no way trying to encroach on their constitutional sovereign rights.

The appeal signed in the morning of August 19 this year by leaders of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin, Ivan

Silayev and Ruslan Khasbulatov was a jarring note at this critical moment when national accord is required. It is couched in confrontational terms. This appeal also contains direct instigation to unlawful actions, incompatible with the legally-imposed state of emergency.

The State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR, displaying patience and a desire for constructive cooperation, sees it possible to limit itself this time to warning against unresponsible, senseless steps. Once again ambition prevailed among the Russian leadership, while people are looking forward to such amendments in the policy that would meet the indigenous interests of Russian peoples.

We would like to stress once again that from now on the principle of supremacy of the USSR constitution and the USSR laws will be restored on the entire territory of the USSR. We assure that our practice, unlike the stereotyped hollow promises, will be undoubtedly supported with the realisation of decisions taken."

RIA Sees Support for New Leadership 'Wavering'

LD2008091791 Hamburg DPA in German 0129 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—According to the Russian news agency RIA there is said to be doubts concerning the new political leadership of the Soviet Union among the commanders of the troops that entered Moscow yesterday. RIA reported during the night, citing unnamed sources, that a number of motorized units, following the proclamation of the state of emergency, were compelled to enter the capital, but that their commanders would refuse to carry out in full the orders of the new leadership. The military refused to stand in opposition to the people.

According to RIA, initial reservations have also emerged among the emergency committee. Likewise the leaders of the state security service, the KGB, the Interior Ministry, and the Soviet Army are wavering. [passage omitted]

Shevardnadze Comments on Consequences of Coup

OW1908225091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1853 GMT 19 Aug 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama Program"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President of the Democratic Reform Movement and chairman of the Soviet Foreign Policy Association, Eduard Shevardnadze held a press conference today. Earlier an appeal was disseminated on behalf of the movemnt's Political Council: IF [INTERFAX] covered it in the afternoon.

According to Shevardnadze, the developments in the country are posing a threat "to democratic processes, peace and order not only in the USSR but also beyond its borders." The former Soviet foreign minister described the situation that is taking shape as "a national tragedy," the possibility of which had been predicted by the movement's leaders.

He told Soviet and foreign journalists that things might escalate into a civil war or bloodshed. The only way out of the predicament, emphasized Shevardnadze, was for "all democrats, all reformers, all honest and upright people" to join forces. He expressed the conviction that the democratic forces in the military "would not turn against own people" and that the developments would find a corresponding response in the other republics.

"We count on the solidarity of all progressive mankind since the Soviet Union's continuing to be a democratic country is in the best interests of all," said Shevardnadze. He demanded on behalf of the Democratic Reform Movement that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev make an appearance on national TV to give an assessment of the developments and, according to Shevardnadze, Gorbachev must go on the air not later than tonight. He also demanded the convocation of the USSR Supreme Soviet and of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in the coming days.

Shevardnadze expressed the opinion that the developments may push various social groups to actions of protest, but it was his profound conviction that the struggle should not assume violent forms. Asked about the possibility of outside help to the Democratic Movement, he said that "we have to address our practical problems ourselves. When appealing to progressive mankind, we largely seek solidarity."

Addressing the consequences of the developments, Shevardnadze argued that the country's economic decline may worsen, in particular when there will be problems with grain purchases abroad; as far as the foreign agenda is concerned, the disarmament negotiation process may break down.

A number of people's deputies also addressed the press conference.

Professor Georgiy Ryzhov, a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR:

Russia's leadership held a meeting this morning. It issued an appeal to the peoples of Russia, signed by Yeltsin, Silayev and Khazbulatov, assessing the events which had taken place and calling for joining forces and resisting that unconstitutional coup. It was decided to convene an emergency session of the Russian Supreme Soviet on August 21.

Later came a decree by the presient of Russia, Boris Yeltsin, declaring all government bodies in Russia transferred under the authority of the Russian government to demonstrate that the so-called Soviet leadership completely lacked legitimacy to give orders to those bodies.

The state of emergency act, according to the chairman of the Russian legislation committee, Mr. A. Shakhray, is unconstitutional because it may only be declared in the

republic's territory by consent of the republic itself or by a decision of a two-thirds majority in the Soviet legislature.

I am a member of the Supreme Soviet's presidium, and I have not been informed until today that Lukyanov plans to convene the presidium's session at 4 p.m. on August 21.

Tanks appeared around the building of the Russian government early in the morning, a nearby bridge has been crowded with tanks and armoured personnel carriers.

Yeltsin went out of the building and, mounting atop one of the tanks, delivered a brief speech and read an appeal by the Russian government.

Russian People's Deputy Voprontsov, a member of the Soviet Cabinet of Ministers:

No cabinet meeting was held yesterday or the day before yesterday. All actions which have allegedly been taken on behalf of the Supreme Soviet's presidium or the Soviet Government are unlawful. I have just received information that an emergency cabinet meeting will be held at 18 p.m. [time as received]

Judging by this sequence of events, it is not difficult to conclude that they are trying to confront the Union government with a fait accompli.

This morning, Mr. Anatoliy Urazhtsev, a Russian people's deputy and the chairman of the "Shield" ("Shchit") association, was detained near the Russian legislature's building. People's Deputy of the USSR Alexandr Vladislavlev, vice-president of the Scientific and Industrial Union of the USSR:

The action which has been taken is absolutely unlawful. What is more, it was taken at a time when political and economic reforms began to gather momentum and this process was becoming more and more irreversible.

I am quite sure that this country has no chance of turning back the clock and reviving totalitarianism, for the economy just would not work in the old way. It seems to me that all that has been done is an absolutely irresponsible action which cannot accomplish anything positive, not to speak of grave consequences which an immediate reaction to what's going on might produce. Politically and economically, it is doomed to failure.

The question is if the country's fledgeling democratic forces are able to join forces in the face of this threat to counter it. And what is the price we will have to pay?

Threat Goes Beyond Borders

OW1908214891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1853 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President of the Democratic Reform Movement and chairman of the Soviet Foreign Policy Association, Eduard Shevardnadze said at a press conference in Moscow Monday that the developments in the country "were posing a threat to democratic processes, peace and order not only in the USSR but also beyond its borders." The former foreign minister described the situation that is taking shape as "national tragedy."

Addressing Soviet and foreign journalists, he expressed the opinion that things may escalate into a civil war and bloodshed. The only way out of the predicament, according to Shevardnadze, was for "all democrats, all reformers, all honest and upright people" to join forces. He expressed the conviction that democratically-minded forces in the military "would not turn against their people."

On behalf of the leadership of the Democratic Reform Movement he demanded that Mikhail Gorbachev make an immediate television appearance to assess the developments.

Asked about the possibility of outside help to the democratic movement, he said that "we must tackle our practical problems ourselves. While appealing to progressive mankind, we largely seek solidarity."

Dealing with the international consequences of the developments in the USSR, Shevardnadze argued that the country's economic decline may worsen, "in particular when grain purchases abroad become a problem." He also warned that as far as the foreign policy agenda is concerned, "the breakdown of the entire disarmament negotiating process" is a possibility.

Aleksander Vladislavlev, a people's deputy of the USSR and vice-president of the USSR League of Science and Industry, described the action undertaken by the Emergency State Committee as "absolutely unlawful" and declared that "politically and economically, it is destined to failure."

"The question is: Can this threat lead to the consolidation of the country's democratic forces that have made the very first steps during the six years (since Gorbachev's took office) in order to counter this threat," said Vladislavlev. "And what price will we have to pay for that?"

Urges Nonviolent Opposition

AU1908160391 Paris AFP in English 1541 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 19 (AFP)—Former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze appealed here Monday for "all who oppose a return to totalitarianism" to engage in non-violent opposition to the new authorities following the ouster of Mikhail Gorbachev.

Speaking at a hastily-arranged news conference, Shevardnadze said that "opposing this terrible dictatorship

and totalitarian regime is in the interest of all humankind." He accused the hardline military and political officials of the newly-created federal state-of-emergency committee of making "demogogic promises" on leading the country out of crisis that they did not have the power to keep.

Shevardnadze, one of the co-founders of the Democratic Reform Movement (DRM), reiterated the movement's support for Russian President Boris Yeltsin's call for a general strike in Russia, saying "Yeltsin has correctly seen the task" at hand. He also repeated an appeal for international help and said that "everyone will suffer" if the current authorities retained power.

Shevardnadze, who resigned as foreign minister in December warning of a looming "dictatorship" described Gorbachev's ouster as political "adventurism, pure and simple". He said regular phone lines to DRM offices had been cut but the movement was still able to disseminate information with fax machines. "The consequence of this adventure will be a worsening of the situation and the descent into civil war," he said.

In a public appeal released at the news conference, the DRM said that "a national tragedy has taken place" and dismissed claims by the new authorities that Gorbachev had been removed for health reasons. The statement said that if Gorbachev had been ill he should have stated so publicly and suggested that Gorbachev himself may have been at least partly aware of the coup plans. "If the president participated in what has happened, in one way or another ... he must answer for this," the statement said. "We demand the immediate intervention of the president before the people."

"The initiators of the coup have miscalculated if they think the people of the army will take action against their brothers and sisters," the appeal added.

Shevardnadze was flanked at the news conference by Teymuraz Stepanov, a close aide during his five and a half years as foreign minister.

Earlier Monday, Shevardnadze and Aleksandr Yakovlev, another former close advisor to Gorbachev, denounced Gorbachev's ouster as "treason" and called on Western countries to form groups to support democratic reform in the Soviet Union.

In a communique read through a spokesman by telephone to AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, Yakovlev and Shevardnadze voiced their support for Russian President Boris Yeltsin's call for a general strike in Russia. The two, both founders of the DRM, described Gorbachev's overthrow as a "betrayal of the interests of the people, of freedom and democracy."

Both Shevardnadze and Yakovlev, who quit his post as advisor to Gorbachev on July 26, noted that in their resignation statements they had warned of an imminent conservative-led coup d'etat.

They called on Western countries to set up "committees in support of democracy in the Soviet Union" and said they had been unable to make contact with Gorbachev.

The DRM had announced plans to constitute itself as an official opposition party at a congress in October.

Shevardnadze resigned from the Communist Party in June while Yakovlev was expelled earlier this month.

Issues Appeals to West With Yakovlev

AU1908115591 Paris AFP in English 1131 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 19 (AFP)—Aleksandr Yakovlev and Eduard Shevardnadze, two former advisers to ousted Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, appealed to the West on Monday to set up committees to support democracy in the Soviet Union.

In a statement made available to AFP, two of the co-founders of a new Movement for Democratic Reform noted they had issued several warnings about the danger of a coup d'etat by hardliners in the Communist Party.

They backed a call from Russian President Boris Yeltsin for a general strike and denounced the "betrayal of the interests of the people, of freedom and democracy".

The two former politburo members said they had been unable to contact Gorbachev, who is under arrest, according to a Russian government spokesman.

Yakovlev and Shevardnadze aides said the two men were at their respective homes in Moscow guarded by KGB unmarked cars.

Yakovlev resigned from the Communist Party on Friday warning that party Stalinists were plotting a takeover. Shevardnadze issued the same warning when he stepped down as foreign minister in December.

Afanasyev Says 'Political Crime' Committed

LD1908183291 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1640 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Interview with Yuriy Afanasyev, "one of the leaders" of the Soviet democratic opposition, by program editor Jozsef Barath; Afanasyev in Munich speaks in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation—live or recorded]

[Text] [Barath] Yuriy Nicholayevich, how do you assess what has happened?

[Afanasyev] The same way it has been justifiably assessed by the world; a putsch has taken place, a coup. I would not call it a military putsch—it is rather a party-state turnabout with the use of soldiers. Their aim is clear—to nullify all the reforms of the past six years, to return to the totalitarian state, to return to the methods of Stalin and Brezhnev.

[Barath] Is it irreversible?

[Afanasyev] Not only is it not irreversible but it is very much a transient one—they will not be able to maintain power.

[Barath] It is not possible to fill the shops with machine guns, to feed the people with them.

[Afanasyev] The experience of history proves that such counterrevolutionary conspiracies do not lead to lasting results. Just look at what happened in Central Europe. The only problem is that the brains behind coups never learn anything from history, and because of them much blood will flow. Yeltsin and the men around him will not resign themselves to the return of the Bolshevik era.

Nor would I hasten to declare that the KGB and the Army has fallen into the hands of the Committee, the putschists. On the contrary. I expect that polarization will begin in the Army as well as in the KGB.

[Barath] Do you consider as final the political death of Gorbachev?

[Afanasyev] It is hard to reply to this. These people who grabbed power have committed a political crime. They must be consistent, they must take Gorbachev's life, because a live and active Gorbachev presents a mortal danger for them. Everything depends on the distance they go with the crime and breach of faith.

Republic Leaders' Reactions to Events Discussed

Kravchuk, Nazarbayev Oppose Emergency Rule

OW2008030491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2320 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Ukraine's parliament Leonid Kravchuk made an appeal to the nation calling to defend constitutional norms, laws and democracy and emphasizing the inadmissibility of creating extraconstitutional and illegitimate power structures.

The parliamentary leader declared that the republic is not under emergency rule and the legitimate authorities do not plan to introduce it. They are in full control of the situation and plan to observe the Ukraine's laws and constitution.

Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev said in an appeal to the nation that emergency rule would not be introduced in the republic. He called on the military in the Kazakh territory, Interior Ministry and KGB bodies "to be true to their constitutional duty."

Kyrgyz, Georgian Presidents Urge Restraint

OW2008030091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2320 GMT 19 Auug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kyrghyzstan President Askar Akayev expressed hope for the eventual triumph of "reason and democracy" in an appeal to the nation. He declared that he "would do his best to safeguard the republic's state sovereignty and to have law and order ensured" and called for restraint.

Georgia's president, parliament and government made a brief statement relating to the introduction of emergency rule in the USSR in which they called on the population "to show restraint, resist provocations and work as usual."

RSFSR Leaders Call for General Strike

OW2008044691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2320 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian leadership described the ouster of the legitimate USSR president as "an anticonstitutional coup d'etat", declared the Emergency State Committee and all of its decisions illegitimate and called for a general strike.

President Boris Yeltsin issued a decree making all USSR executive power structures including the KGB, the Interior Ministry and the Defense Ministry in the republican territory directly accountable to the Russian president. Under the decree, they should take instructions from the Russian authorities.

President Yeltsin also made instructions for the day-by-day management of Russia's economy and for ensuring "an efficient operation of the basic state structures."

On the same day the presidium of the Russian parliament passed a resolution on the convocation on August 21 of an extraordinary session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

In his evening speech from a balcony of the Russian House of Councils, Yeltsin urged a rally at the building to organize the civic defense of the Russian parliament building and to show restraint and avoid confrontations.

Miners in the Kuznetsk coal basin, West Siberia, declared a political strike for an indeterminate period. A council of the basin's worker committees appealed to military units to disobey the decrees of the Emergency State Committee.

Miners in Vorkuta, in the north of the European part of Russia, declared that they would begin a political strike at 00:00, August 20, if Soviet and Russian presidents Gorbachev and Yeltsin do not go on the air on TV during August 19.

TASS Reports Reaction Throughout Republics

LD1908203491 Moscow TASS in English 1958 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Bryansk August 19 TASS—The Presidium of the Regional Council of People's Deputies has called on the population of the Bryansk region to show restraint and be calm. It announced in a statement that the legally elected Councils of People's Deputies and their executive bodies continue to operate on the entire territory.

The presidium urged residents of the region to ensure the normal operation of all branches of the national economy, to strengthen labour discipline and order at work places and in public life.

The situation remains calm in Bryansk and the region, all industrial enterprises and transport are functioning and the harvest is being brought in.

Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky. In connection with a changing situation in the country, the Presidium of the Regional Council held an extraordinary meeting to set up a special group for the state of emergency.

Its aim is to analyse the situation on the peninsula, and promptly react to arising problems. The group comprises deputies, members of the Executive Committee and the Regional Council.

Chairman of the Regional Council P. Premiak appeared on local television with a plea for calm. He appealed to citizens, parties, mass organisations and labour collectives on Kamchatka to avoid ill-considered actions, instigatory appeals to disobedience.

Abakan. Reports broadcast over all-Union radio and central television received unequivocal reaction here. According to journalists of the local press, the editors receive a lot of telephone calls from citizens. Local intellectuals, young people, small businessmen, and activists of the national movement express displeasure. The current changes found support with workers, old people and peasants.

Tallinn. According to republican radio, Estonia's Emergency Defense Council, set up on January 13 this year, held a meeting today. It was presided over by Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic Arnold Ruutel.

The Council passed a statement which, in particular, emphasises that bodies of authority and government of Estonia continue pursuing policy of the peaceful restoration of independence of the Estonian Republic.

The Estonian Republican Council of Strike Committees at enterprises of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] fully supports the State Committee for the State of Emergency's measures aimed at restoring the USSR Constitution and USSR laws on the territory of the Soviet Union.

"Only through joint and resolute action can we check the hunger, desolation and civil war that are advancing on our multi-national country."

Riga. Colonel-General Fedor Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District, was appointed head of the Regional Committee for the State of Emergency, a news conference was told here.

Leningrad. Colonel-General Viktor Samsonov, commander of the Leningrad military district and the city's military commandant, spoke at local television.

He, in particular, said that "the threat to the existence of the Soviet state, rampant crime, political speculations in connection with preparation of the Union treaty created serious tension in the country, endangered citizens' tranquillity, normal conditions of work, recreation and everyday life. For the purpose of guaranteeing citizens' safety, ensuring the normal work of the economy, transport, public institutions, as well as of maintaining necessary order in Leningrad and outlying regions a state of emergency, envisaging a number of special measures, is introduced from 4 hours August 19."

The measures provide for prohibiting workers and employees from leaving jobs and ban strikes.

Tambov. Workers and engineers of the production equipment factory supported the emergency committee's appeal to the Soviet people.

"We felt the catastrophe of disrupted economic ties," said plant director V. Chvokin. "Therefore we welcome the restoration of discipline in all spheres of public life, measures to combat the shadow economy, so that we can work calmly and honestly. We also liked the provision of the first resolution of the emergency committee banning leaders of mass organisations from working concurrently in the commercial sector.

Bishkek. Askar Akayev appealed to the peoples of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan with the words of alarm, concern and hope that reason and democracy will prevail.

He urged people to display calm, unity and respect for the Constitution and laws of the USSR and the Republic of Kyrgyzstan.

The situation remains normal and all enterprises work as usual.

Armenia, Lithuania, Moldova React

LD1908182891 Moscow TASS in English 1805 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Yerevan August 19 TASS—A meeting of heads of political parties and mass media of Armenia has been held at the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet to discuss the situation in the country.

Speaking at the meeting, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Levon Ter-Petrosyan told those present about the results of the meeting of the Presidium of the

Armenian Supreme Soviet held this morning, which adopted an address to republican residents.

It is exclusively important now for parties, public and political organisations, all political forces acting in the republic, as well as newspapers, radio, television and other mass media to show maximum restraint and caution and avoid imprudent and hasty estimations, conclusions and comments, the Armenian leader stressed.

Proceeding from the supreme interests of the Armenian people, the top-priority task of the public, all the population and republican power bodies should be a strict observance of law, discipline, labor rhythm and the refusal from rallies and manifestations, noted speakers at the meeting.

The Armenian leader has also informed those present about his telephone conversations on Sunday with representatives of the Union leadership, during which they discussed in detail the aspects of overcoming the crisis situation around the soldiers taken hostage in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Vilnius—Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Vytautas Landsbergis spoke over the "Radio of Independent Lithuania" today.

He said that "a new power has been declared in Moscow which is not able to take into account the will of many peoples, the stand of many countries of the world".

Landsbergis also believes that a military dictatorship can be introduced even today.

However, despite his call on republican residents to come to the parliament building, only 1,500-2,000 people gathered near it by 11 o'clock. The central entrance to the Supreme Soviet building is blocked with ferroconcrete constructions and the whole building is surrounded by metal railing.

Speaking over the "Radio of Independent Lithuania," Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius said the following: "We should do our job with confidence, keep calm and—what is most important—do not have any confrontation with the military".

The prime minister expressed the hope that a firm stand and the unity of republican residents "will help overcome the crisis situation".

The prime minister said he believes that they will live as free people.

Kishinev—According to the report of Moldovan Deputy Interior Minister K. Antach, the situation in republic remains calm. There is no animation on the capital's streets.

Small groups of people heatedly discuss the morning announcement near the monument to Stefan Chel mare in downtown Kishinev, the traditional place of gathering of democratic forces' supporters. Those who took the radical measures of the Union leadership negatively, connect them with the "Soyuz" deputy group.

The leadership of the republic, heads of the major parties and public organisations—the Communist Party, the Popular Front and the Democratic Forum of the Dnester Region—have made no comments so far.

Some Military Units Backing RSFSR Government

OW2008064491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0610 GMT 20 Aug 91

[From "Emergency Edition No 2"—INTERFAX headline; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] State Committee for Defense Konstantin Kobets told IF [INTERFAX] that on the night of August 20 he had a visit from the deputy commander of Soviet airborne troops Major-General Lebed. Lebed said unequivocally that "not a single shot will be taken at the people."

Asked by IF whether this means that the airborne troops stationed in Russia had went over to the side of the Russian government, General Kobets said: "I would not make exactly this conclusion."

IF learned from Kobets' staff that the tank units of the Taman division at the Kremlin went over to the side of the Russian government.

Early reports have been coming to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet as to the position of military units. One of the reports says that the military units stationed in the island of Sakhalin went over to the side of the Russian government. The KGB and Interior Ministry structures in the city of Magadan and Kamchatka declared their support of the Russian government. The military stationed in those areas has also supported the Russian government.

Soldiers Guard Moscow TV Center

LD2008074691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0700 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] In Moscow, one of the areas covered by the state of emergency, military hardware is on the streets. The television center building is being guarded by soldiers. At the House of Soviets of the Russian Federation, Muscovites have erected barricades.

Soldiers in Moscow Streets Show 'Restraint'

PM2008084691 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2

[A. Batygin report under general heading: "Yesterday in the Streets of Moscow"]

[Text] Yesterday we arrived at our workplaces in the editorial office by 1000, and a few minutes later someone shouted:

"Look, armored vehicles under the windows!"

Six armored carriers were clustered by our entrances—three outside PRAVDA, three outside SELSKAYA ZHIZN. Young guys in uniform bustled around their combat vehicles.

I seek explanations from a captain in field uniform, and ask him to introduce himself.

"Captain Andrey Afanasyevich Nevolin, from the Taman Division."

[Batygin] "What are your orders, if it's not a military secret, of course?"

[Nevolin] "That's okay. We will stay here, outside the editorial offices. To prevent disturbances. Unfortunately, I can't say any more."

...Near Mayakovskiy Square our Volga, together with a stream of vehicles, is diverted onto Sadovoye Koltso; you cannot go any further along Tverskaya Street. On foot it's okay, there are no barriers. The faces of the passers-by are calm. There is a waiting line outside the well-known "Kolbasy" store opposite the Tchaikovskiy Hall. All the stores are open, though admittedly the eye is again caught by armored carriers outside the IZVESTIYA building.

In Sovetskaya Square I was expecting to see crowds of people (a GAI [State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate] staffer would not let people through: "You'll never get through the crowd anyway!")—but no, there too, for the most part, people are hurrying about their shopping, about their own business. Someone is having his photograph taken by the monument to Yuriy Dolgorukiy.

Closer to the Moscow City Soviet building, several dozen people are milling around. The appeal of B. Yeltsin, I. Silayev, and R. Khasbulatov—the dissenting opinion of Russia's leaders on the imposition of the state of emergency in the country—has been posted on the wall. At the center of the little group is a man of about 35. He is chewing a bread roll, and shouting at the same time:

"Yeltsin calls for a universal indefinite strike!"

An elderly man calmly turns to the speaker:

"When you've finished eating your roll, what will you do next?"

"Nothing," the eater replies, "the Democratic Party of Russia can do without me!"

At that moment a drizzly rain started to pour down in a cool, autumnal torrent. The people rushed to shelter in stores and doorways, and it was only outside "Kolbasy" that they did not disperse....

Now down Tverskaya Street to Manezhnaya Square. It is packed full. Here there are two displaced centers, so to speak—near Okhotnyy Row and near the exhibition hall. Above people's heads there are placards: "V.S. (Supreme Soviet)—resign!" "Yeltsin calls for a strike." Some of the demonstrators set off in the direction of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] House of Soviets.

In Manezhnaya Square all kinds of people are gathered. Representatives of various political parties and organizations, casual passers-by, visitors. My attention was attracted by a solitary, no longer young cyclist in very professional gear. In his "rubber" shorts he was skillfully clambering onto the armored carriers and "canvassing" the soldiers. We could hear his voice: "You won't shoot your own people!"

No one has any intention of firing on unarmed people. Of course, seeing combat hardware in the streets is no reason to rejoice. But, I repeat, the soldiers, warrant officers, and officers were conducting themselves with great dignity and restraint.

...On returning to the editorial office, I read an RIA report: "Moskvoretskiy Rayon Soviet Deputy Vladimir Ivanov told demonstrators that they are on strike at the 'ZIL' Motor Vehicle Plant... and the 'Kalibr' Plant."

I call the enterprises. "The plant director has walked around the shops four times," they tell me at "Kalibr," "everything is calm here."

At the "ZIL" Plant, too, everything is normal, normal work is in progress.

Just in case, I also called the "Zavod Imeni Vladimira Ilicha" Association: How are things there?

"What problems do we have today?" the plant's deputy director, Aleksandr Yegorovich Ril, said, repeating my question. "Holdups with the supply of subassemblies. Otherwise, it is a normal production atmosphere. Let the politicians look after the politics, we have work to do!"

...The rain, first dying away, then resuming its staccato tapping on the streets and squares of Moscow, did not allow the sun to break into the sky yesterday. Will the August rain cool the hottest heads?

Fire in Air To Disperse Protesters

AU1908145491 Paris AFP in English 1447 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 19 (AFP) — A group of Soviet troops fired shots into the air to disperse an angry crowd of demonstrators who attacked the vehicles the soldiers were riding in near the Russian parliament, eyewitnesses said.

Around 60 soldiers in two military trucks attempted to crash through barricades set up by protesters on a bridge over the Moscow River near the parliament building.

As they tried to drive through, a mob of angry protesters attacked the trucks, trying to break windows and prevent them from continuing.

At least one soldier pulled a pistol out and fired into the air to disperse the protesters as the two trucks and a tank behind them withdrew. There were no reports of casualties.

Midday Scene on Moscow Streets Described

PM1908230991 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 20 Aug 91 p 3

[By V. Raskin: "The Moscow Streets, 19 August"]

[Text] At 1100, 19 August, I decided to drive along with Mikhail Chifurov, the editorial office driver, through the streets and squares of the capital to see how Moscow had received the report about the introduction of a state of emergency in a number of regions of the country. We noticed immediately on Leningrad Highway that traffic was flowing normally without any concern whatsoever. We drove past the Belorussia Station. There were the traditional lines at the taxi stand. Nothing unusual was happening on Tverskaya Street or on Pushkin Square. And we did not hit our first traffic jam until we reached the Moscow City Soviet.

While Mikhail tried to park the car somewhere I went off to the Yuriy Dolgorukiy Monument, where around 200 people had assembled. Young people had surrounded four armored personnel carriers [APC] which wanted to turn into a side street. The rally participants were not letting them through. Some people were bent on aggravating the situation. And it was doubtlessly no accident that a large number of Soviet and foreign cameramen and film crews were there, as if they had known in advance where a "juicy" story was to be expected. I approached a militia captain and showed him my press card. He introduced himself as Captain Kiryukhin.

I asked him to describe what was happening outside the Moscow City Soviet.

"I reported for duty at 0830. My post is on Tverskaya Street, from Block 11 to Block 15. I received no instructions at all from my superiors in the morning. It was said that a general would assemble us together later. When I arrived at my post, a small group of people had already gathered at the Yuriy Dolgorukiy Monument by 0900. They were holding placards."

When we left Sovetskaya Square, around 1,000 people had gathered there. Young people had climbed on top of some APC's and were urging all present to go to Manege Square to hold a rally there.

Our next stop was the telegraph office, which was absolutely calm. I went inside. I held a conversation in the hall with M. Ibrayev, a senior scientific staffer of the "Geofizpribor" from Ufa. He had just flown into the capital on an assignment. His plane had landed at Domodedovo. He had heard nothing at the airport or on his way into the city. And I was the first person from whom he learned about the State Committee for the State of Emergency's appeal to the Soviet people.

The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Internal Affairs Ministry is located close by the telegraph office, at No. 6 Ogarevo. I decided to pay a call there to see with my own eyes what was happening at this now very important building. I encountered no one at the entrance. I went up to the duty officer and introduced myself. Junior Lieutenant Valeriy Yevgenyevich Ponomar talked with me. He should have been relieved at 0700 hours. But he was ordered to remain there to reinforce the detail.

We drove across Manege Square. At midday there were not so many people by the Moskva Hotel. There appeared to us to be around 1,500.

We headed on to Block 29, Kalininskiy Prospekt, where the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet are located. Aleksey Illarionovich Demidov was at work in the Committee for Labor and Social Policy. I asked him to comment on today's situation. This is what he said:

"I think that this was bound to happen sooner or later. We have really been rushing to the abyss. The situation in the country was changing from week to week. Everyone, including we USSR people's deputies, was seeking a way out of the crisis situation. This was not easy to do. There were too many preconditions to be taken into account for the solution to materialize. First and foremost, ending national dissension. Making clear the goal of how to maintain a state which was falling apart literally before our eyes. Creating tolerable conditions for people's lives. If this had been carried out, it would have been posssible to avoid introducing the state of emergency. I would note here that a state of emergency is provided for by the existing USSR Constitution. And I would add something else—Yugoslavia set in its own way a negative example. Reports from that country have shown a state in the process of eliminating itself."

Before returning to the editorial office we decided to visit Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment, where the RSFSR Supreme Soviet is located. Our car hit a dense stream of traffic heading for Kutuzovskiy Prospekt. The time was 1230. There was a traffic jam. A tank column was moving from the direction of the Ukraina Hotel. Mikhail and I had served in the Army as drivers of medium tanks. And we were therefore able to "assess" the column's movement. The tank crewmen did not enter into conversation with people. A few vehicles turned in the direction of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Street Scenes, Protests Detailed

LD1908203991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] [Video shows APC's moving along embankment near Red Square] Tanks and armored

patrol carriers appeared on the streets of Moscow this morning. The vehicles moved towards the center of Moscow.

[Correspondent S. Medvedyev] [video shows medium shots of soldiers standing near stationary armored vehicles, crowd of civilians gathered at Manezhnaya Square] The Army acted quickly in Moscow today, and literally after an hour or an hour and a half, the tanks, BMP armored transports, and other military vehicles had firmly ensconced themselves around the Kremlin, Manezh Square, the Bolshoi theater, the Moscow City Soviet, the Russian Supreme Soviet, and on the most important highways in the city. [video shows line of armored patrol carriers parked along road, with civilian sitting on top of one; group of half-dozen young soldiers, laughing and talking to unseen person; shoulder patch of one shown in close up identifies him as "spetsnaz" (special forces) soldier] Well, of course we cannot claim to reflect the whole breadth of the picture that has taken shape in Moscow, but even what you can see in this report, I think, conveys the main atmosphere of today's disturbing day in the capital. [video shows a dozen civilians standing on top on far side of the road] It seemed to us that the soldiers, having taken up the positions they were allocated, switched their operations to a waiting mode. Meanwhile, waves of people kept flooding in.

[Unidentified civilian male, using microphone, addressing meeting at Manezhnaya Square] [Words indistinct] strike, a political protest strike. [video shows two red and white buses blocking road, with soldiers sitting inside, then blue and white Moscow trolleybus blocking a road, with civilians inside and on top, banner reading "Down with the SCSE (state committee for the state of emergency)" hung on its side]

[Medvedyev] They organized spontaneous whirlpools, with outbursts of emotion and passionate appeals, the main ones which were to defend democracy. [video shows mid-shots of two groups of young soldiers, then brief conversation between soldier and a civilian man] We did not observe any panicky or provocative action on either side today.

[Civilian, to soldier] If they order you, will you shoot?

[Soldier, holding up empty magazine clip] I won't shoot, I'll show you, I don't have any shells.

[Civilian] Why have we got tanks in Moscow? [video shows another civilian, advancing toward camera through crowd]

[Second civilian] We won't let our soldiers be disgraced, we won't let anyone do that, God forbid. We will manage to avoid any provocations here.

[Medvedyev] [Video shows close up of tank tracks with iron reinforcement poles stuck in them; tanks parked outside apartment buildings with civilians climbing on top of them; boy passing ice cream through a tank hatch; another boy sitting on cannon barrel] Similar dialogues went on everywhere, but not smoothly everywhere, of course. It is not every day that Muscovites happen to see tanks outside their windows. However, it looks as if the sides understood each other, and the soldiers ate ice cream that the Muscovites brought them, and bread, but all the same, they did not go from the positions they had occupied. [Video shows long shot of RSFSR Supreme Soviet building, crowd on steps, zooming in and cutting to full figure shot of Yeltsin apparently standing on top of a tank, accompanied by four other men]

In the middle of the day, it became known that Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin had signed a decree describing the actions of the Committee for the State of Emergency as a coup d'etat.

[Yeltsin] Since television won't let us, and the radio won't let us, I'll read it. To the citizens of Russia: On the night of 18-19 August....

[Medvedyev] The president called for Gorbachev to have the opportunity to speak to the people. He is not locked in his dacha in Foros [in the Crimea], he said. He called for an emergency congress of people's deputies, and for all to participate in a general political strike. [video shows beginning of decree on sheet of paper, point one declaring that the SCSE's actions amount to a coup, partial view of point 2 appears to declare its actions on Russia's territory invalid]

[video shows man on steps with megaphone, two men at a balcony window scattering leaflets, people bringing material to add to barricades, including a truck dragging a slab of concrete; a road blocked by assorted building materials] Meanwhile, preparations began for the defense of the Russian Supreme Soviet building against possible attack. You can see, they are scattering leaflets. And they didn't have to go looking for volunteers.

August 19, 1720. We are at the Krasnopresnenskaya Naberezhnaya [embankment, location of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet]. We have switched on our camera without any special hopes of getting on the air today. You can see the work going on to build barricades. This embankment was the last to be left unbarricaded. Now virtually all approaches to the Supreme Soviet building have been blocked off.

I understand you'll be here at night as well? [video shows group of men, one carrying Russian flag]

[Unidentified man] Of course we will, no doubt about it.

[Medvedyev] Have you brought some bread?

[Second man] Never mind, we will get by without bread.

[Third man] Yes, we will get by without bread.

[Medvedyev] How did you find out you needed to gather here and build the barricades?

[Fourth man] Vilnius was a lesson for us. Vilnius taught us. They had a rehearsal there, in principle. One could have expected this.

[Fifth man] I was working today, I work at the Zil motor plant, and my heart simply prompted me to come here. I went to Manezh, and then I came here with the crowd. And I will stay overnight. I called work to [words indistinct].

[Fourth man] Here is where the legitimate authorities that we elected are. So we do have something to defend.

[Medvedyev] [video shows barricade] Our film crew does not have any information about other events elsewhere in the capital. We hope they will give us the opportunity to inform you in later bulletins.

Radio Reports on Situation in Leningrad

LD2008085791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0805 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] There is unceasing activity today at Mariinskiy palace, where the Leningrad Soviet of People's Deputies is located. Here, leaders of the Leningrad soviet and the mayor's office are on duty round-the-clock.

An improvised news conference by Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak and his colleagues took place overnight. They replied to dozens of questions from journalists. The "Free City" [Svobodnyy Gorod] radio station is constantly transmitting documents of the leadership of the Russian Federation and also transmitted a recording of the news conference.

An hour ago, on Palace Square, a rally of Leningraders began. A joint session of the oblast and city soviets is to open in the afternoon. It will discuss the situation in the country, oblast, and city.

Rear Admiral Shcherbakov, deputy mayor of Leningrad, has stated that he did not give his consent to membership in the Leningrad Emergency Committee, as has been announced by the garrison's commandant.

Emergency Commission Formed

LD2008082691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0600 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] As you know, an emergency situation has been declared in Leningrad. The duties of the city's military commandant have been vested in Colonel General Samsonov, commander of troops of the Leningrad Military District. A commission for the emergency situation has been formed to manage life and activities in Leningrad. Included in the commission, in addition to the commandant, are Comrades Shcherbakov [chairman of the oblast soviet], (Khromtsov), Yarov [first deputy chairman of the city soviet], Gidaspov [first secretary of the Leningrad oblast party committee], (Viktorov), Kokov, and Savin, reports our correspondent.

Sobchak Regains Control of TV

LD2008085991 Hamburg DPA in German 0729 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak during the early hours of the morning apparently regained control over a number of printing works with the help of local special units. The news agency INTERFAX reported this morning that these units, belonging to the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] troops, had managed to repel the regular troops of the Soviet Interior Ministry from these buildings. The editorial office of the Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, which has meanwhile been closed down, reported this morning that the city's OMON units now had the local television center under their control and thus, under Sobchak's control. Sobchak subsequently appeared on television.

Deputy Mayor Vyacheslav Shcherbakov, who is a member of the Leningrad emergency committee, told journalists he has presented the latest decrees of Russian President Boris Yeltsin to the military commandant. According to Shcherbakov, Samsonov refused to carry out the order of the new Kremlin rulers to deploy troops in Leningrad during the night. The Russian information agency RIA wrote this morning that major tank columns are approaching the city.

INTERFAX reported that the city center and the city council of Leningrad are being guarded by Leningrad militia, former Afghan fighters, and hundreds of volunteers. Sobchak said at a press conference during the night that the members of the emergency committee in Moscow enjoy "no serious support in the Army and are thus not as strong as they would like to claim." Sobchak demanded that crisis congresses of the Soviet and Russian people's deputies be convened.

Day One Passes 'Relatively Calmly' in Moscow

PM1908184191 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 20 Aug 91 p 1

[By V. Volodin: "The Country, 19 August: Discordant Voices in Moscow"]

[Text] At the end of Tverskaya Street, directly in front of the Moskva Hotel, we caught sight of two trolleybuses with young men on their roofs waving white, blue, and red Russian flags. A placard fastened to a window read "RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President Yeltsin calls for a general strike! Everyone to the Manege!"

A nervous atmosphere reigned among the—on the whole—small number of participants in the rally. The retorts and shouts of certain individuals could be reduced to a single formulation: We were expecting an armor-backed coup, and now we have gotten it.

Out of fairness, I would like to say that far from all those assembled subscribed to such a standpoint. M. Mokrinskaya, compressor operator at the Krasnaya Presnya Depot, stated that she supports the actions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

"I am fed up with anarchy and confusion," she said with a flick of the wrist. "Order has to be instilled in the country some time."

Despite the polarity of the opinions expressed in assessing the events in the country, yesterday passed relatively calmly in Moscow. Yes, there are armored personnel carriers and patrols carrying assault rifles over their shoulders. But no excesses against the civilian population were observed. Political passions were seething basically in downtown Moscow. But life outside the Sadovoye Koltso beltway was already following its own course. Stores were open, long lines of people stretched out at tobacco kiosks, and small children were eating ice cream.

Press Version of 'Address to the People'

PM1908163591 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 20 Aug 91 p 1

["Address to the Soviet People"]

[Text] Compatriots! Citizens of the Soviet Union!

We are addressing you at a grave and critical hour for the destinies of the fatherland and our peoples! Mortal danger is looming over our great motherland! The policy of reforms, launched at M.S. Gorbachev's initiative and conceived as a means to ensure the country's dynamic development and the democratization of social life, has ended up deadlocked by dint of several reasons. The initial enthusiasm and hopes have been replaced by lack of faith, apathy, and despair. Authority at all levels has lost the population's confidence. Politicking has squeezed out of public life the concern for the destinies of the fatherland and of citizens. Malicious desecration is being implanted against all state institutions. The country has essentially become ungovernable.

Taking advantage of the freedoms that have been granted and trampling the tender shoots of democracy, extremist forces have emerged and have taken a course of liquidating the Soviet Union, breaking down the state, and capturing power at any cost. The results of the nationwide referendum on the fatherland's unity have been trampled. The cynical speculation with national feelings is nothing but camouflage for the satisfaction of ambitions. Political adventurers are not worried either about their peoples' present misfortunes or about their tomorrow. While creating an atmosphere of moral-political terror and trying to hide behind the shield of popular trust, they forget that the ties they are condemning and breaking were built on the basis of a much broader support by the people and have actually passed history's tests over centuries. Those who are essentially leading matters toward an overthrow of the constitutional system must today be held answerable to mothers and fathers for the deaths of the many hundreds of victims of interethnic conflicts. They have on their conscience the maimed lives of more than 500,000 refugees. Because of them, tens of millions of Soviet people have lost their tranquility and joy in living, people who only yesterday lived within a united family but today find themselves outcasts in their own home.

The people must decide what the social system should be, but attempts are made to deprive them of this right.

Instead of showing concern for the safety and prosperity of each and every citizen and of society as a whole, people who have ended up with power in their hands often use it for the sake of interests that are alien to the people, as a means for unscrupulous self-assertion. The torrents of words and the heaps of declarations and promises only go to emphasize the scarcity and penury of practical deeds. The inflation of power, which is more terrible than any other, is destroying our state and society. All citizens are feeling growing lack of confidence in tomorrow and profound alarm for their children's future.

The crisis of power has had a catastrophic effect on the economy. The chaotic and haphazard slide toward the market has provoked an explosion of egoism—regional, departmental, group, and individual egoism. The war of laws and the encouragement of centrifugal tendencies have led to the destruction of the unified national economic mechanism which took shape over decades. The results are a sharp decline of living standards for the overwhelming majority of Soviet people and the blossoming of speculation and the shadow economy. It is high time people were told the truth: Unless urgent and resolute measures are taken to stabilize the economy, famine and a fresh round of impoverishment are inevitable, and they are only one step removed from mass demonstrations of spontaneous dissatisfaction with destructive consequences. Only irresponsible people can bank on some sort of aid from abroad. No handouts will solve our problems, salvation is in our own hands. The time has come to measure each person's or organization's standing by their real contribution to the restoration and development of the national economy.

For years on end we have been hearing from all sides exhortations about commitment to the individual's interests, about concern for the individual's rights and social protection. In reality, however, man has ended up degraded, deprived of real rights and opportunities, and driven to despair. All the democratic institutions created as a result of the expression of the people's will are losing weight and effectiveness before our very eyes. This is the result of purposeful actions by those who, crudely trampling the Fundamental Law of the USSR, are in actual fact engaged in an anticonstitutional coup and are

leaning toward unbridled personal dictatorship. Prefectures, mayoralties, and other unlawful structures are increasingly and blatantly supplanting the soviets elected by the people.

An offensive against working people's rights is under way. The rights to work, education, health care, housing, and leisure are in jeopardy.

Even people's elementary personal safety is increasingly coming under threat. Crime is growing fast, becoming organized and politicized. The country is sinking into the morass or violence and lawlessness. Never before in the country's history has the propaganda of sex and violence assumed such a scale to threaten the health and life of future generations. Millions of people are demanding the adoption of measures against the octopus of crime and blatant immorality.

The deepening destabilization of the political and economic situation in the Soviet Union is undermining our positions in the world. Revanchist notes have been heard here and there, demands are being made to have our borders reviewed. Voices can even be heard calling for the dismemberment of the Soviet Union and the possibility of placing individual facilities and regions in the country under international custody. This is the bitter reality. Only yesterday, a Soviet citizen traveling abroad felt himself the dignified citizen of an influential and respected state. Now he is frequently a second-class foreigner, and his treatment bears the hallmarks of either scorn or compassion.

Soviet people's pride and honor must be restored in full.

The State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR is fully aware of the depth of the crisis which has struck our country, it takes on responsibility for the motherland's destiny, and is fully resolved to take the most serious measures for the state's and society's earliest possible extrication from the crisis.

We promise to hold a broad nationwide discussion of the draft new Union treaty. Each and every one will have the right and opportunity to ponder this most important act in an atmosphere of tranquility and determine his attitude toward it, because the destiny of our great motherland's numerous peoples will depend on what the Union will be like.

We intend to immediately restore legality and law and order, put an end to the bloodshed, declare a merciless war against the criminal world, and eradicate the disgraceful phenomena which discredit our society and degrade Soviet citizens. We will clear our cities' streets of criminal elements and will put an end to arbitrariness by the squanderers of the people's wealth.

We advocate truly democratic processes and consistent policy of reforms leading to our motherland's renewal, to its economic and social prosperity which will enable it to take its fitting place in the world community of nations.

The country's development must not be built on the decline of the population's living standards. Constantly rising prosperity for all citizens will become the norm in a healthy society.

Without slackening concern for strengthening and protecting individuals' rights, we will focus attention on protecting the interests of the broadest strata of the population, of those who are the hardest hit by inflation, disorganization in production, corruption, and crime.

While developing the national economy's mixed nature, we will also support private enterprise, giving it the necessary opportunities to develop production and the services sphere.

Our paramount concern will be to solve the food and housing problems. All available energies will be mobilized to meet these most urgent needs of the people.

We call upon the workers, peasants, working intelligentsia, and all Soviet people to restore labor discipline and order as soon as possible and to raise the level of production so as to firmly advance thereafter. Our lives, the future of our children and grandchildren and the fatherland's destiny depend on this.

We are a peace-loving country and will rigorously honor all our commitments. We have no claims against anyone. We want to live in peace and friendship with everyone. But we firmly declare that nobody will ever be allowed to infringe upon our sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity. All attempts to talk to our country in the language of diktat, regardless of where they may originate, will be resolutely blocked.

Our multinational people have lived for centuries with pride in their motherland, we have never been ashamed of our patriotic sentiments, and deem it natural and legitimate to bring up the present and future generations of our great power's citizens in this spirit.

Remaining inactive at this critical time for the fatherland's destiny means taking on grave responsibility for tragic and truly unpredictable consequences. Each and every one who holds our motherland dear, who wishes to live and work in an atmosphere of tranquility and confidence, who rejects any continuation of bloody interethnic conflicts, and who perceives his fatherland independent and prosperous in the future, must make the only correct choice. We call upon all true patriots and people of good will to put an end to these troubled times.

We call upon all citizens of the Soviet Union to become aware of their duty to the motherland and give all possible support to the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR and to the efforts to extricate the country from the crisis.

Any constructive proposals by sociopolitical organizations, labor collectives, and citizens will be gratefully accepted as manifestations of their patriotic readiness to play an active part in the restoration of the centuries-old

friendship within the united family of fraternal peoples and in the fatherland's rebirth.

[Signed] State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR

[Dated] 18 August 1991

Comparison of Emergency Committee Decree No. 1

PM1908154391

Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian on 20 August 1991 carries on page 1 the "Resolution No. 1 of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR." Comparison of the SELSKAYA ZHIZN item with the Moscow Central Television Second Program Network version published in the 19 August issue of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 12-13, reveals the following variations:

Page 12, column two, paragraph six, only sentence, SELSKAYA ZHIZN reads///operation of the state of emergency is complied with///rewording;

page 12, column two, paragraph eight, first sentence in SELSKAYA ZHIZN reads///of organization and to establish order and discipline///rewording;

page 12, column two, penultimate paragraph, only sentence, SELSKAYA ZHIZN reads///economy and to inexorably apply measures of criminal///rewording;

page 13, column one, paragraph two, only sentence, SELSKAYA ZHIZN reads///incompatible with the pursuit of entrepreneurial activities///subbing "pursuit" for "adoption;"

page 13, column one, paragraph three, only sentence, SELSKAYA ZHIZN reads///a week to regularize, freeze, and reduce///subbing "regularize" for "regulate;"

same sentence in SELSKAYA ZHIZN reads///weeks measures to regularize the size of///subbing "regularize" for "regulate;"

page 13, column one, penultimate paragraph, only sentence, SELSKAYA ZHIZN reads///of plans for urgent measures to be///subbing "urgent" for "emergency."

Strikes Reported in Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia

AU1908170291 Paris AFP in English 1645 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 19 (AFP)—Miners throughout virtually the entire Russian Federation on Monday went on strike, a deputy from the Vorkuta far north mining town said here.

"In Ukraine, in Belorussia, and in Russia, everywhere except in Vladivostok (Soviet Far East), everyone is on strike," he said.

Lukyanov Urges More Discussion of Union Treaty

LD1908212991 Moscow TASS in English 1934 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—Follows the full text of the statement by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet:

"In connection with numerous letters from workers requesting me to express my attitude towards the draft treaty of Union of Sovereign States, I consider it necessary to declare the following:

The draft treaty was supported on the whole by the USSR Supreme Soviet on July 12, 1991. The Supreme Soviet has formed a plenipotentiary Union delegation and assigned it to proceed, in adding final touches to and coordinating the draft treaty, from a number of provisions formulated by the Supreme body of authority in the country.

First of all, the need was stressed to reflect in the title and basic principles of the treaty the results of the all-Union referendum in the course of which the absolute majority of the country's citizens supported the preservation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a renovated federation of equal sovereign republics.

A similar approach to the title and character of the Union state was formulated by the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

Detailed argumentation of this position of the USSR Supreme Soviet was made at a meeting of the heads of plenipotentiary delegations in Novo-Ogarevo," the statement reads. [gap in TASS transmission]

"The USSR Supreme Soviet paid exclusively serious attention to the termination of the so-called "war of laws", in fact glaring lawlessness. In this connection, a norm was proposed for inclusion into the treaty to prevent the suspension by the USSR of republican laws and by the republics of Union laws, and the resolution of possible disputes through conciliatory procedures or rulings by the USSR constitutional court.

Despite the fact that this proposal was backed by leading Soviet lawyers, it failed to find proper reflection in the text of the treaty prepared in Novo-Ogarevo. There is no need to prove how dangerous this is for the formation of a stable legal system in our country.

The order of implementing the treaty during the transitional period to secure continuity in the operation of bodies of state authority and government demands a considerably clearer definition in the treaty.

Without this it is impossible to maintain, at least to the minimum extent, the functioning of the national economy in the extremely grave crisis situation in the country.

All these problems demand, in my opinion, extra discussion at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and then, probably, at the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

Without this, such a document of crucial importance to the destinies of our state as the Union treaty cannot fully reflect the Soviet people's will to preserve the USSR, a great power called upon to serve the interests of citizens of all nationalities and exerting most serious influence on the international situation throughout the world."
[Signed] A. Lukyanov
Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
[Dated] August 16, 1991 [date as received]

TASS Reviews Soviet Central Press for 20 Aug

LD2008063591 Moscow TASS in English 0526 GMT 20 Aug 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 20 TASS—National newspapers on Tuesday publish a decree by Soviet Vice-President Gennadiy Yanayev, which says that in connection with Mikhail Gorbachev's inability for health reasons to perform the duties of the Soviet president and on the basis of Article 127 Clause 7 of the Soviet Constitution the vice-president has assumed the duties of the USSR president "from August 19, 1991."

The front pages carry a statement by the Soviet leadership, an appeal of the Soviet State Emergency Committee to the Soviet people, a statement by Soviet parliamentary leader Anatoliy Lukyanov and an appeal of acting President Gennadiy Yanayev to the heads of state and government and the U.N. secretary-general.

The newspapers publish Decree Number 1 of the State Emergency Committee and the Soviet parliament's resolution to convene an emergency session of the national legislature on August 26, 1991 in Moscow, as well as the Russian parliament's decision to hold a session on August 21, 1991.

All newspapers carry a report about a news conference by the Soviet leadership on Monday. Yanayev, the president in charge, expressed determination of the State Emergency Committee "to take the most resolute measures to take the state and society out of the crisis".

The newspapers publish a statement by the State Emergency Committee, which stresses that "already the first day of state of emergency in some parts of the Soviet Union has brought relief to people. There have not been any serious incidents".

Soviet Communist Party daily PRAVDA, the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspapers, as well as the Soviet military daily KRASNAYA ZVEZDA offer photo reports from Moscow's streets, where a state of emergency has been imposed due to the aggravation of the situation, and other cities.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA tells about combat training problems in Soviet troops withdrawn from Eastern Europe. It also calls for strict legal regulations to perform commercial flights by military aircraft.

The newspaper stresses that the Army's engagement in solving some economic problems is a reality necessitated by life but it should have a legal basis.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA carries reports from the Soviet western border, in which car tourists comlain about large exit duties, which they hope will be used to the benefit of border-lying areas.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishes an article devoted to the 50th anniversary of the first allied sea convoy to the Soviet north during the Second World War. To mark the anniversary, war veterans from the United States, Great Britain, Canada and other anti-Hitler coalition countries are piloting the symbolic sea convoy Dervish-91 to the Soviet city of Arkhangelsk.

PRAVDA tells about social insurance problems in Bryansk, western Russia.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries reports about crop harvesting in various Soviet regions. It says that on Monday, 70 military car battalions (about 35,000 trucks) worked on grain fields.

The newspaper also devotes some materials to an aircraft parade in the city of Zhukovsky near Moscow on Sunday.

The Soviet trade union daily TRUD touches upon the problems of privatisation in the country. N. Minchenko, chairman of the trade union central committee of the metallurgic and coal mining industry in the Ukraine, believes that trade unions, representing workers' interests, should ensure the best possible conditions of labour force sale on the labour market.

PRAVDA carries reports from Pyongyang on economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and North Korea. It says both countries "are objectively interested in "each other (?and in mutually beneficial cooperation".)

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA (?dwells) about the political situation in Bulgaria on the eve of elections.

TASS Reviews PRAVDA for 19 Aug

LD1908114591 Moscow TASS in English 0912 GMT 19 Aug 91

["Soviet Communist Party Daily PRAVDA Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party daily PRAVDA on Monday publishes the article "Kuzbass's Potential: How To Use It Effectively?", which is devoted to the crisis situation in the country's economy.

The region will need over 150 billion roubles to restore economic and social order in the region, including its key industries—coal-mining, metallurgy, chemistry and machine-building.

The newspaper says the crisis can be resolved if the region's coal mines gain real independence and carry out structural reforms to expand their specialisation. "The region needs a closed technological cycle or it may remain a raw material appendage to the country," the article says.

PRAVDA correspondent K. Aksyonov reports from Krasnodar about the drop in grain production in Kuban, southern Russia. This year, the region harvested 1.5 million tonnes less grain than in 1990, mainly due to inefficient techniques to protect plants from pests and diseases, the article says.

In the article "Party and Power", Vyacheslav Khalipov, editor-in-chief of the magazine "Social and Political Sciences", comments on blueprints of the Soviet Communist Party programme.

On the eve of the signing of a union treaty, the newspaper carries the article "Kazakhstan-Russia: Dialogue in Alma-Ata", telling about the results of talks between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and his Kazakh counterpart Nursultan Nazarbayev.

PRAVDA publishes Mikhail Gorbachev's greetings to an international symposium on energy, ecology and economy and his congratulations to President Najibollah of Afghanistan on Afghanistan's independence day. It also carries reports about CPSU Central Committee Aleksandr Dzasokhov's visit to Donbass to attend discussions of a draft party programme.

The newspaper offers materials about a session of the Soviet Cabinet of Ministers last Saturday to discuss a union treaty. The government agreed that its signing will be of paramount importance for stabilising the difficult political, economic and social situation in the country and forming a renovated federation of sovereign republics.

The newspaper reports Georgian Prime Minister T. Sigua's resignation over the weekend and Georgian president's decree relieving him of his duties.

The resignation was prompted by the Sigua government's inability to stop the severe economic crisis in the republic and the drop in living standards.

PRAVDA carries a report by the Soviet defence minister press centre denying a statement, issued by the Japanese Foreign Ministry, on the violation of the Japanese air space by Soviet military aircraft.

"The flight was performed at a distance of 26 kilometers from the shore line of the Japanese island Rebun-Jima (near northern Hokkaido), that is 3.8 kilometers from the territorial waters," the report says.

The newspaper also offers the contents of a recently published IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS [as received] magazine.

The article "Hostages Are Alive. But There Is No Peace." is devoted to negotiations between Major General V. Starikov, representing the Soviet Interior Ministry troops, and Armenian guerrillas.

The newspaper says that two rounds of talks were fruitless in finding a compromise to release the Soviet soldiers captured by Armenian militants last week. The latter reiterated their demand for a transfer of six Armenians from an Azerbaijani prison to any other in the Russian Federation and a free trial.

In the rubric "Pages of History", PRAVDA publishes the article "Lenin and Hoover" about an agreement on humanitarian aid to Soviet Russia from the American relief administration in 1921-1922.

Doctor of Sciences Yuriy Borozdin comments on the need for determined moves to a market economy in the country. He believes the moves are inevitable, but to speed the process the country should "stop a money-printing machine" and sharply reduce budget expenditures.

PRAVDA offers the last part of Vladimir Karpov's story "Secret Reprisal Against Marshal Zhukov" about his removal from the post of the Soviet defence minister.

The newspaper also devotes some of its materials to the situation in the Korean Peninsula and in Yugoslavia, the experience of privatisation in Czechoslovakia, and an interview with Israeli Transport Minister Moshe Qatzav.

Economic

State Property Fund Regulations Published

PM1608123591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2

["Regulations on the USSR State Property Fund. Ratified by a USSR Presidential Decree Dated 10 August 1991"]

[Text] 1. The USSR State Property Fund [Soyuzgosfond] is an organ of state management operating under the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and accountable to the USSR president and the USSR Supreme Soviet. The Soyuzgosfond is authorized to represent the state's interests with respect to property in all-Union ownership.

2. In its activity, the Soyuzgosfond is guided by the USSR Constitution, USSR laws, other decisions adopted by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, USSR presidential acts, USSR government resolutions and directives, as well as the current situation.

3. The Soyuzgosfond resolves the tasks assigned to it and performs its functions in close collaboration with

republic governments, ministries and other organs of USSR state management, as well as public associations.

4. The Soyuzgosfond is tasked with the following:

—the protection of USSR property rights and interests;

—the monitoring of the efficient use and safe-keeping of USSR property;

—the functions of holder of stocks (shares) in all-Union ownership, and of lessor in the event of the leasing of state-owned Union enterprises;

—the elaboration, organization, and execution of the program for the destatization and privatization of state-owned Union enterprises, and the analysis of its implementation;

—the organization of work to assess the value of the property of state-owned Union enterprises subject to destatization and privatization, and of unused buildings, moth-balled facilities, and other property in all-Union ownership in the event of their sale or leasing;

—the establishment of a procedure for holding and organizing auctions and tenders for the sale of property in all-Union ownership;

—the elaboration and implementation of a program for the utilization of military-technical property that has been released and the analysis of its implementation;

—the ensuring of glasnost in the implementation of measures for destatization and privatization.

5. In order to perform the tasks assigned to it, the Soyuzgosfond has the right:

—to determine, taking into account proposals made by labor collectives, the form and procedure for the destatization or privatization of state enterprises in all-Union ownership;

—to create commissions to carry out work on the destatization and privatization of state-owned Union enterprises;

—to ratify normative and methodological documents regulating the process of the destatization and privatization of facilities in all-Union ownership and the utilization of released military-technical property;

—to determine the proportion of stocks (shares) remaining in all-Union ownership in the transformation of state-owned Union enterprises into joint-stock corporations (associations);

—to elaborate, in conjunction with the USSR Ministry of Finances, a general procedure and conditions for the allocation of stocks (shares) in joint-stock corporations and other economic societies or associations formed on the basis of state-owned enterprises, and for the purchase and sale of shares belonging to the state;

—to adopt decisions on the procedure and conditions for granting to labor collectives the privileges stipulated in legislation in the transfer of individual categories of property belonging to state-owned Union enterprises subject to destatization and privatization to their ownership or to the ownership of legal entities and citizens;

—to acquire property belonging to other owners, including foreign legal entities and citizens, in the USSR and abroad;

—to create territorial and other departments and organizations, and—on a joint-stock (share) basis—sectoral and territorial property funds, and insurance, brokering, holding, and other companies necessary for the fulfillment of the tasks assigned to the Soyuzgosfond;

—to delegate the rights to manage USSR property to the relevant organs of USSR and republic state management;

—to cooperate with state organs, non-governmental organizations, and scientific research centers of other countries on problems of the destatization and privatization of enterprises.

6. Soyuzgosfond decisions on questions falling within its sphere of competence are binding on ministries, other central organs of USSR state management, and other organizations managing property in all-Union ownership.

The Soyuzgosfond does not intervene in the solution of economic tasks or the day-to-day management of enterprises.

7. Decisions on questions of the destatization and privatization of enterprises under joint USSR and republic authority are to be adopted by the Soyuzgosfond in conjunction with the relevant authorized republic organs.

8. The Soyuzgosfond does not have the right to engage in commercial activity that is not associated with the destatization and privatization of facilities in state ownership.

The Soyuzgosfond's senior officials and specialists cannot enter into commercial and labor relations with enterprises, participate as purchasers in auctions for the sale of all-Union property, or engage in other actions producing personal gain from the exercise of official duties.

9. The Soyuzgosfond has a board comprising a chairman to be appointed by the USSR president; his deputies to be appointed by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers; and other senior Soyuzgosfond officials to be approved as

board member by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers; and leaders of the relevant authorized republic organs.

10. An interdepartmental council operates under the Soyuzgosfond as a consultative organ for the purpose of elaborating the basic guidelines for the destatization and privatization of enterprises. It includes authorized representatives of ministries and other organs of USSR state management, state concerns, associations, and public associations, and leading scientists and specialists.

The personnel of the interdepartmental council is approved by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers on the recommendation of the Soyuzgosfond Board.

11. The Soyuzgosfond has a seal depicting the USSR state emblem and its own name.

Pavlov Answers Readers' Questions

914A1070A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 13 Aug 91 pp 1-2

[Answers to readers' questions by Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov: "What Can You Do: Medicine Is Often Bitter, But It Has To Be Prescribed, and We Are Doing So Openly"]

[Text] **We are finishing up the readers' contest: "Your question for the prime minister."**

In the issue today:

As was previously reported, the editors of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA held a meeting between Prime Minister V. Pavlov and the newspaper's readers who won the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA contest for the best question for the head of our government. People came to this meeting from various cities and republics but they were all in much the same mood, judging from the questions they asked V. Pavlov, which were sometimes biting, sometimes bitter. This is quite explicable: In one way or another everyone is feeling alarm and concern for his family and his city or village.

Will we have to bear the burdens of inflation and the total deficit on our shoulders and feel the oppressive lack of confidence in the future for much longer? This is what the readers asked about, what they tried to find out.

Overall a total of more than a thousand letters were addressed to the head of the Cabinet. Valentin Sergeyevich looked at many of them. In answering, he tried to respond to the interests of the largest possible number of participants in the contest.

Below we are publishing a slightly abridged version of the stenographic transcript of this meeting.

HOW DID WE ARRIVE AT THIS LIFE?

N. FORSUNOV, pensioner from Yeysk in Krasnodar Kray: The Ryzhkov government led our country into an impasse. What guarantees do we have that you will not lead us where Ivan Susanin led the Poles?

V. PAVLOV. Before speaking about what awaits us, about any prospects, I would like to discuss briefly the history of the development of our economy. We must clarify how we arrived at this life. The fact is that our planning system was not able to provide for uniform development of all branches along the path of progress. The development proceeded in spurts, and the spurts were "not comprehensive." First metallurgy would surge ahead and then we would all work on bringing the chemical industry up to snuff. The other branches would be trailing along behind; some of them were almost a half century behind, thus creating monstrous disproportions and strain on the general economic balance. The foreign threat factor forced us to "press" especially hard on group A. Always in the rear were light industry, the food industry, agriculture, in a word, everything that directly affects the human being and satisfies his needs.

If a building were constructed in spurts this way, cracks would inevitably appear in its walls. And they have appeared in the economy. Crisis phenomena were first noted during the 1970's. First the railroad would suddenly become clogged up, then there would be a decline in timber procurements, then the volume of steel smelting would decrease. And we would treat not the patient but the disease.

[Begin boxed passage] Next year is an anniversary: the country's 75th. Will the anticrisis program be on line by then? Will there be celebration in our streets?

B. MIROSHIN, pumping station machine operator. Likhoslavl, Tver Oblast. [end boxed passage]

The gaps that inevitably arise with this kind of method of controlling the economy were filled with purchases from abroad. But here is the paradox: Throughout the world foreign trade ties serve as a powerful stimulus for accelerated forward movement—competition spurs things on. Because of the twisted nature of our laws of development we received no stimulus at all. All we did was patch up the holes—nothing more.

[Begin boxed passage] The food problem is very serious in many cities. Should we not legislatively introduce one more "unpopular" measure—therapeutic fasting?

N. BATAYEV, engineer, Glazov, Udmurt ASSR. [end boxed passage]

To satisfy our demand we need about 95-96 million tons of grain annually. Ordinary imports comprise approximately 40-45 million. Last year we purchased 30 million because we had a good harvest. Initially we were sold grain at a fairly low price—$56 per ton. But with the appearance on the market of such a large buyer as our country, the prices rose sharply. During the next five years we actually had this exchange: A ton of oil for a ton of grain. Now a ton of oil costs $65 and a ton of grain about $150. If we wait, next year the price could rise to $180.

For a long time we were saved by Tyumen. Nature presented us with an extremely generous gift. When assimilating the unique Samotlorskoye deposit we exhibited all the advantages of our system, especially the ability to concentrate resources on an important area. The wealth of Tyumen was exploited in an extremely short period of time, almost doubling the volume of extraction in the country. Crude oil exports also increased considerably at that time. We lived on this without burdening ourselves with solving urgent economic problems and without thinking about how to stabilize the situation. It is for this negligence and this inaction that we are paying now.

Many people link the possibility of emerging from the crisis to foreign aid. I am skeptical about that. Let me say frankly that the West is attentively keeping track of what we wish to cure ourselves with and how. And they are not doing much to stimulate this process. With all of our apparently good relations with the capitalist countries, there is absolutely no reduction of the Cocom [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] lists which indicate precisely what cannot be exported to our country. On the contrary, they regularly add to them. What is on these lists? The very latest technology for machine building. That is, they are not giving us opportunities to create the necessary level of production that would provide for our independence. Of course, we buy some things, but they cost too much.

IS IT USEFUL TO TELL THE PEOPLE THE TRUTH?

Perestroyka is proceeding much more rapidly in the area of politics than it is in the economy. In many letters I am asked: Was it really impossible to anticipate the present chaos in the national economy and prevent it at least in part? Yes, it was possible, but it would have required one thing: telling the people honestly that their situation would deteriorate sharply for a certain period of time. But our leaders have become accustomed to placating the people with speeches about continuous improvement of their well-being, and it would have been beyond their powers to tell them the truth.

[Begin boxed passage] Our country now resembles the postwar "House of Pavlov" in Volgograd. What can you suggest to transform this destroyed building into a residential building with all the conveniences?

A. LYSENKO, department head of Giprokombaynprom. Rostov-on-Don. [end boxed passage]

Let me tell one story. It became clear that we had to change grain prices as early as 1981. I am a living witness to the fact that this decision was made even under Brezhnev. This is what had to be done. All the price lists were distributed to the local areas. The general secretary died just 17 days before the introduction of the new prices. Andropov, who replaced him, did not dare to begin his activity in his new post with such an "abrupt" action. They thought it was impossible to place the responsibility for such a step on a deceased predecessor—the people would not believe that and would think that the new leader started out by deceiving them. He was advised to postpone the issue for no more than a month or two. But after that time had passed the price increase was postponed until the next harvest in the hope that suddenly it would no longer be necessary to increase them. Nothing that good "suddenly" happened, they did not receive a large harvest, and the real situation in the economy continued to deteriorate.

The decision that was postponed at one time was never acted on. Why? They were afraid to tell the people the truth and let them know that things were not so good in the state. That we were on the threshold of a crisis. We know what this led to. It was much too late for us to make any decisions that could right our listing ship. This is why the government is having to make such unpopular decisions today. Unfortunately, it is simply impossible to do anything else.

[Begin boxed passage] Do you link the five- to six-fold increase in prices to your capabilities as a professional financial expert?

V. KALYUZHNYY, deputy chief of hydrotechnical installations. Tashkent. [end boxed passage]

I know that many specialists, not to mention rank-and-file citizens, are critical of my position. But understand it correctly. If I begin to evade the truth, I will be going against my convictions as a professional. What can you do: Medicine is frequently bitter, but it must be prepared and offered openly and not on the sly, as has been done previously.

A BUREAUCRAT DRIVES A BUREAUCRAT WITH A BUREAUCRAT

G. VOLCHKOV, Moscow worker. As minister of finance you said with alarm that many of our people are going to work but they are doing practically nothing and receiving their wages for nothing. This coincides with my observations. One can clearly see that the controllability of the national economy has declined sharply but the workers of the apparatus are sitting there just as they always have. How many do we have just collecting their salaries for every one who is doing something?

V. PAVLOV. Here we must distinguish two control systems. One controls the state: This includes the ispolkoms [executive committees] and the soviets at all levels, the courts, the procuracy, and so forth, which cost us—if my memory serves me—R1.7 billion a year. This does not include the apparatus of the trade unions and political parties—they have their own budgets. The other system controls production and spends R43 billion annually. As we can see, the expenditures are incomparable. They say that we have too many ministries. But that is not the problem: They could be eliminated tomorrow. Incidentally, when we submitted the system

of the Cabinet of Ministers for the consideration of the USSR Supreme Soviet, they added 17 ministries to the list.

[Begin boxed passage] They barely managed to publish the decree of the Cabinet of Ministers when the next day there were already changes and additions. Is this the result of the incompetence of the workers of the Cabinet or the ignorance of the state of affairs on the part of the society and the inability to predict the consequences of such decisions?

N. LAGUTENKOV, engineer, Moscow. [end boxed passage]

The lion's share of the expenditures from the 43 billion go for maintaining the administrative apparatus of the enterprises and associations. The fact is that the production workers are now profoundly indifferent to how many people sit in their offices. Previously there was centralized control over the number of people employed in the apparatus and the staffs were registered. Then they eliminated this system of control, assuming that the labor collective itself would keep track of the bureaucratic class and not allow it to proliferate excessively. Last year we fired 122,000 managers while the plants added 172,000 of them. So far the enterprises have no motivation to reduce the administrative apparatus and therefore it is growing at a colossal rate.

[Begin boxed passage] Since you have undertaken to control the economy, can you guarantee that it will be better under your leadership?

V. RUBBO, chief of the design bureau of a tractor equipment plant. Rovno, Ukrainian SSR. [end boxed passage]

One must keep in mind that we do not have very many large enterprises—they produce 72-75 percent of all the industrial output. There are more than 5,000 of them. But there are a half million small enterprises, including kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and each of them has the same management apparatus adopted in giant associations. Everything has to be as it is in the large ones: a secretary, a bookkeeper, a planning department. We are faced with the task of creating a completely different system of management of these enterprises so that they will be like capitalist ones—all the bookkeeping is in a notebook. I am convinced that this is what will happen if we make the collective the owner of the means of production and the results of its labor. Then the expanded apparatus will lose the ground under its feet and it will fall within the proper framework. So the solution lies in destatization, whereby nationwide property is transformed into collective, joint-stock, and other forms of property.

[Begin boxed passage] Are you aware of the postulate according to which technology degenerates when industry is afflicted by megalomania and a compulsion for monopolies?

G. OLEYNIKOV, engineer of the Scientific Research Institute of the Radio Industry, Khimiki, Moscow Oblast. [end boxed passage]

MONEY DOWN THE DRAIN

V. PAVLOV. Our extravagance and the cost orientation of our economy have not been overcome yet. In many letters I am asked what share of our budget funds are going down the drain. I think it is about 10 percent.

Rejoinder from the floor. Is that all? Not more?

V. PAVLOV. Well, that is how we calculate it. The state budget which is regularly made public does not encompass the country's budget as such. That is only a part of it. It takes up approximately 30 percent of the expenditures. The main constituent here is military expenditures. We cannot consider that these are wasted expenditures. They must be regarded from the standpoint of adequacy or inadequacy.

[Begin boxed passage] How do you feel about the scientific institutions which are demanding foreign equipment, fittings, and instruments but which for decades have not even invented a bicycle?

B. SMUROV, pensioner. Mozhaysk, Moscow Oblast. [end boxed passage]

Many people think that we spend too much on sciences. The main problem is that our science is working either for itself or for the West. Very frequently our scientists do not have the opportunity to realize their achievements in practice, and that is not their fault. The reform sets as its task to transform the economy in such a way that it will be receptive to innovations of science and technology.

V. KOROVIN, inspector of Gosenergonadzor. Moscow. I ask you to accept my contribution to the advancement of the national economy. I have managed to work out a plan according to which, without any capital investments, it will be possible to save a billion kilowatt-hours of electric energy annually. This will amount to R10 billion in savings each year. I have repeatedly submitted my proposals to the central organs. I assert that the main organizer of the wasteful expenditure of electric energy is the Ministry of Power and Electrification. For it, having the energy "eaten up" is important. As a result, the compressors at the plants operate continuously and the compressed air is discharged into the atmosphere whether it is needed or not. Help me to introduce this plan for economizing.

V. PAVLOV. Today our deficit of installed capacity is about 8 billion kilowatt-hours. And we should have a surplus of about 10-11 percent. Therefore, any ideas for saving electric energy deserve the most serious attention. Indeed, we waste a good deal. The technical equipment we produce demands a great deal of electric energy. And the barrier of departmental instructions does not help things either.

[Begin boxed passage] Who has swallowed up our billion? What have they done with the money which they collected in twice the usual amount from us motorists in 1990-1991, supposedly for the repair and construction of highways? Our roads have never been worse than they are now.

Yu. DORODKIN, disabled person. Perm. [end boxed passage]

Extravagance and waste affect more than just electric energy. Take, for example, gas and coal. It turns out that the more gas we burn, the better the indicators are for all gas supply organizations. We need an entirely different system of coordinates for evaluating the work of these enterprises. It is time for us to introduce a system for automatically turning heat and electric energy on and off in consumer services as well. This is the way it is done throughout the world: When you enter the entryway the light goes on. When the door to the elevator is closed, the light in the entryway goes off. This might appear trivial but we lose 15 percent of our electric energy this way, not to mention heat.

As we know, we do not expect large-scale destatization in the main branches and therefore it is essential to look for ways of economizing.

THE FLOWERS MUST BE WATERED

V. AVERKINA, deputy director of automotive repair association, Belgorod. Perestroyka is difficult for all of us, although we understand that it is necessary. Do you think our children should also have to bear these burdens? Or should we try to protect them as much as possible.

V. PAVLOV. A difficult question. Yes, they should be protected but that is not a very easy thing to do. I think the well-being of the children depends on the position of the mother and the teacher. These are two key areas. How do we find the keys to them? We already have enterprises which pay mothers an average wage when they stay at home to rear children from birth until they are three to five years of age. The managers of these enterprises think they stand to gain and are saving a good deal of money. This is why I do not agree with—for the future, at least—the concept of mass construction of kindergartens and day nurseries. This is a strategically incorrect direction. It proceeds from the assumption that women necessarily must be workers. Will all mothers agree with that?

[Begin boxed passage] Why is it that each one of our new governments automatically writes off the debts of the preceding one? Is it not because you are counting on this kind of irresponsibility that you are acting so "boldly" with respect to the people?

S. ISTRATOV, deputy head energy engineer of the Komsomolskiy Mine, Talnakh, Krasnoyarsk Kray. [end boxed passage]

Our reform will provide us with a different kind of labor productivity and a different technological content of the economy. This will enable us to be oriented not toward more workers but toward the quality and intensiveness of the work. Under these conditions, any woman will have the opportunity to choose whether to go into production or to rear a child. The health of the children—both physically and morally—will be in the hands of the mothers and this is the way it should be in any developed society.

Another important problem is the position of the teacher. Our schools today are not meeting the demands of the time, and it is not because we do not have school buildings. I was recently in Neryungi. They have wonderful schools there, the likes of which do not exist in Moscow. They have indoor gardens, a swimming pool, and sports facilities—and it is the best there is. But there are 3,500 students in the school! It is overcrowded. The question arises: Are the instructors able to supervise the educational process under these conditions? And in general what is this—Is it a well-designed colony or is it a school?

It is incredibly difficult for the teacher, and we have hoisted this burden exclusively onto the shoulders of women. I was in school during the Patriotic War, and even then we only had three female teachers in the school, the rest were men. But nowadays when I would go to see my son at school I would see nothing but women except for the physical education teacher. I understand that the problem is linked to the wage level. And here it is important to make sure that when raising wages we guarantee a higher quality of education.

SCRAMBLING OUT OF THE ABYSS

A. YURKOV, editor in chief of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA. In the majority of the letters the readers ask: When will our lives begin to improve and can we expect any improvement at all by the end of the year?

V. PAVLOV. One can understand people's impatience. Any prediction would have to be based on objective preconditions. It is clear that we will not be able to conduct a radical reform of the economy by the end of the year. It is just beginning to gather speed. But still I am confident that there will be a certain stabilization of the situation. A little stream of credit has finally begun to move in our direction (thanks to our partners in both the West and the East). Now we will be able to load our capacities, especially in light industry. We have purchased dyes, chemical fibers, wool (35,000 tons of Australian wool have already arrived). There will be more consumer goods.

[Begin boxed passage] I suggest that you conduct a personal experiment: You and your family should try to live for even a couple of months on wages of R200 plus a compensation of R100 and buy groceries in the stores using coupons. I am convinced that you will receive many extraordinary impressions and you will understand how the Soviet people are living.

G. ALFEROVA, veterinarian, Troitsk, Chelyabinsk Oblast. [end boxed passage]

In the area of development of foreign economic ties we have made many mistakes during the years of perestroyka. As a result, the foreign trade commodity turnover has dropped by more than half. For example, the volume of commodity turnover with Yugoslavia declined this year from R5 billion to a little more than R100 million. And this is where we obtained footwear, medicines, ferrous alloys, and many other things.

Trade with the former CEMA countries has been basically undermined as well. There we delivered mainly oil, gas, coal, a small amount of timber, pellets, ore, nonferrous metals, and some kinds of equipment and motor vehicles, plus weapons. When we said that all accounts would be changed over to freely convertible currency, it suddenly became clear that there was no point in our sending machine building products there because they did not want our goods if they had to pay hard currency for them. With dollars they could buy higher-quality equipment and machines on the world market. They are asking us to send them raw material. But this, in turn, is not advantageous to us. Domestic enterprises and organizations prefer to arrange ties with capitalist countries and sell them raw material in exchange for goods, machine tools, and machinery. So it has turned out that economic ties with the countries of East Europe have been practically destroyed. And yet previously we obtained from them R32 billion worth of consumer goods alone.

[Begin boxed passage] Because of the difficult situation in the country and taking into account the significant relaxation of tension in world politics, is it not time to limit military expenditures to 5-10 percent of the budget.

A. KUZNETSOV, pensioner. Moscow. [end boxed passage]

Our long-term cooperation with our partners in the former CEMA has disappeared, as a result of which many of our enterprises have been left with nothing to do. For we had many "obligated" plants, especially in Hungary, the CSFR, and the GDR. Now we will have to apply titanic efforts to renew ties on a new, mutually advantageous basis. Some moves have already been made, and this is another guarantee of acceleration of the process of stabilization of the economy.

I have already said at a news conference that our economy, having plunged into the abyss, still grabbed onto a ledge and broke the fall. We are now in a state of unstable equilibrium. We have everything we need to rise up: natural resources, skilled hands, intelligent minds. By reforming our economy and setting up ties with other countries, we will be able to provide a worthy life for each member of the society.

DESTROYING IS NOT BUILDING

A. NURDZHANOV, director of the small enterprise Mekhnat, Dushanbe. We have a great shortage of bandages in the republic. In the hospitals they are tearing up the sheets to keep dressings in place. The Mekhnat factory could have eradicated this deficit. We have an agreement with a Swiss firm and it is prepared to deliver machine tools. But where are we to get the hard currency credit for this? The cost of the machine tools, incidentally, would be recouped rapidly and we could provide bandages both for our republic and for our neighbors.

V. PAVLOV. Your question appears simple only at first glance. Common sense tells us that we must get credit, we must take action. But the existing economic mechanism says: by no means. How will you repay this credit? After all, you know that bandages and gauze are produced at a loss in our country because we are retaining the fixed retail prices for bandages. The same thing is true of medications. The people are suffering without medicine and it is disadvantageous for our plants to produce them.

[Begin boxed passage] If you cannot provide for stabilization of the national economy, as was earmarked, are you prepared to turn your job over to another eminent specialist?

I. BELOV, foreman at the Raduga sewing association, Moscow. [end boxed passage]

Hence the conclusion: We must put the new economic mechanism on line as quickly as possible. I understand that we will not be able to do this quickly. And now that we are experiencing a transition period, it is very important to work jointly, together. But what is happening in fact? We are helping with our own demise. We are trying to divide our common economic space up into chunks.

For example, there was a good deal of grain left over in Kazakhstan last year, but the republic was in no hurry to place it in the Union fund. It was necessary to literally force them to let go of this grain bit by bit. The country's president or prime minister called the leaders each week. Uzbekistan stopped sending cotton in February-March because the RSFSR owed it timber. Textile workers of the Ivanovo region have been idle for three weeks, although there was a good deal of cotton in Central Asia. And how did we make reapers for the Don combine? My deputy for the agro-industrial complex went regularly to the combine plant in Tula and used his influence first to get metal for the plant from the Ukraine and then batching items. Is this the way to work? The republics must not intervene and destroy the horizontal ties among enterprises. After all, these are the basis for future market relations. Yet the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] has introduced licenses for exporting many kinds of products from the republic. Its enterprises have been permitted to conclude any agreements with the exception of agreements with partners located outside the territory of the republic. This requires special

permission from the Ministry of the Economy and Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] of the Ukraine.

[Begin boxed passage] Do you seriously think that Edenic apple of the market can be grafted on to the telegraph pole of the Stalinist economy which still comprises 99 percent of our structure?

O. PLUTALOV, economist, Kramatorsk, Donetsk Oblast. [end boxed passage]

Of course, to break down is not the same thing as to build. We have already been able to destroy many ties that existed before. But we can hardly say that this was to our advantage. Everyone has lost. Our people have lost, it has become more difficult for them to live. But even such an unquestionable circumstance could not calm down the proponents of autonomy of the economy. If this process continues, then... What can I tell you? I shall not deny it: I would get up and leave my post.

THE MARKET IS NOT A GOAL BUT A MEANS

B. TSALLAGOV, production preparation engineer of the plant imeni Kalinin, Moscow. The core of the government's anticrisis program is a transition to market relations. You are on the right path but you have no movement. You are standing still. If the leadership continues to be irresolute and lose time in the future, we could end up back where we started.

V. PAVLOV. You know that the market is not a goal in itself but a means of making our life better. And it is possible to rush to the market quickly and arrive at the finish line half dead. We are trying to choose the path that is safest for the people.

Destatization is one of the major problems today. Our national property must be turned over either to the collectives or to private individuals. Let us determine what we are prepared to sell today. It is possible to get rid of all national property in two days. The question is to whom should we sell it and for how much. Or do we need to do this at all? I think that here we should follow the doctors' rule: Do not do any harm.

[Begin boxed passage] Lenin changed Russia over from a market economy to a planned economy in one night. And how long is it going to take you to change the country from a planning basis to a market basis?

N. SHKET, engineer. Mogilev [illegible]d boxed passage]

Under any conditions, a minimum of 30 percent of the property should remain with the state; and it would be better if it were about 40 percent. Because our country is so diverse and great, we could lose a lot by dividing it up. I do not think we can divide up the oil, gas, coal, railroads, telephone and telegraph networks, or gas and power systems. These should not even be divided up among the republics, not to mention privatized.

Many enterprises will have new owners but it is important for this to be to everyone's advantage. There is one more essential aspect: The market means free prices. Tell us honestly: Are you prepared for another price hike today? What can be expected after this hike? A pogrom and not a market. After the April increase the people were at their limit.

No private or collective owner will pay wages the way we are paying them today. You are well aware that in the first half of the year production volumes declined by 12 percent but wages increased. What owner would tolerate that? He would simply show the people the door. Is our society prepared to have 1.3 million of its members waiting in line at the unemployment office? I doubt it. You know what they would tell us then: You know what, take your market and get out of here while the getting is good.

If we want to get anywhere we must not go to extremes. It is important for our people to accept the market, understand its advantages, and see the light at the end of the tunnel. Our strategic goal is a deep structural rearrangement of the economy to accommodate human needs and the construction of a socially oriented market economy.

BY WAY OF AN AFTERWORD

In addition to our readers, our editorial collective was also present at the meeting with the prime minister: It is not every day that the head of the Cabinet visits us. The journalists thanked Valentin Sergeyevich for his candid discussion. We are now thanking him again in writing and we want to wish the prime minister practical success in his undertakings.

In the report we published today we have inserted letters sent to the editorial offices with questions that the prime minister did not answer. Perhaps the readers will find their own food for commentary in the overall concept for government work proposed by V. Pavlov. But the main thing is that these letters portray the interested voice of workers, which can quite well be a point of reference for the activity of the Cabinet of Ministers.

The discussion in RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA met with authentic social interest, it was broadcast on Central Television, and it evoked a response from the readers. Apparently press conferences like this, in which our subscribers play the role of journalists, should be held regularly. Write (or phone!) us and tell us which of today's leaders, state figures, and politicians you would like to speak with in the conference hall of the editorial offices.

Economic

State Grain Procurements Still Show Shortfall

PM1608091291 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 16 Aug 91 p 1

[USSR Ministry of Agriculture and Food Press Center report under the rubric "Harvest-91: Concerns and Anxieties": "The Fields Are Not To Blame"]

[Text] First, the weather. In the past week it was favorable for harvesting work over the greater part of the country's European territory, the Ukraine, the Northern Caucasus, the Central Chernozem, and the Lower Volga. In the Northwestern, Volga-Vyatka, and Urals Regions and the north of the Central Region there was 20-30 mm of precipitation, which was bound to affect the pace of work. Omsk and Tyumen Oblasts were really inundated.

Over the country as a whole, as of 12 August the harvesting had "crossed over" into the second half of the sown area, and the threshing is coming close to the same point, having been completed on 48.3 million hectares. The combines are leaving the fields in Stavropol Kray, and the Kuban and Rostov Oblast are completing the grain harvest. The end is in sight for the grain farmers of Lipetsk, Tambov, Volgograd, and Kursk Oblasts.

A slight reduction in the weekly increase in the harvest area—8.5 million hectares, as against 10.3 million the previous week—can be explained in part by the fact that the harvest is moving from the south to the east of the country, where the ripening of grain crops is uneven and there is less high-productivity equipment on the farms. However, this reduction is also partly the result of the continuing chaos as regards material and technical supplies for harvesting facilities. The earlier shortfalls in fuel deliveries have not been made good. The situation is not improving as regards the provision of spare parts and equipment to kolkhozes and sovkhozes. For instance, the shortage of batteries for high-powered equipment is 19 percent overall, but in the Ukraine it is 39 percent, and in Kazakhstan 35 percent.

Some 100.8 million tonnes of grain has been gathered from the harvested area. The average threshing per hectare is 20.9 quintals. That is approximately at the level of the first three years of the current five-year period. But at that time nobody was talking about a possible grain famine. This year such predictions are, frankly, keeping the country in a state of tension. And not without reason. But it is not the fields that are to blame, although in many regions they have suffered from drought. The general economic and political situation in the country is having a disruptive effect on grain procurements for state resources. In all, the farms have sold the state 22.3 million tonnes of grain, or 22 percent of the threshings. Over the week, a total of 3.3 million tonnes arrived at the grain reception centers. In the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] 23 percent of the grain threshed has been purchased, in the Ukraine—25 percent, and in Kazakhstan—13 percent.

The extremely low rates of grain sales to the state by farms in Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Armenia were reported earlier. It only remains to reiterate this, adding that these republics have fulfilled the state order for grain respectively by 11 percent, 11 percent, 15 percent, and 16 percent.

The state grain reserve is the only thing that can ensure stable grain supplies for people. It is a priority task to form this reserve in accordance with needs.

Sown and natural grasses have been cut on an area of more than 60 million hectares. But the stockpiling of coarse and succulent feeds is taking place more slowly than last year. Less hay, haylage, silage, and grass meal has been procured.

In the vegetable harvest, as was the case last year, there is an acute shortage of manpower, transportation, and packaging materials. City dwellers should hear and respond to this anxiety. The lag in relation to last year's level for purchases of vegetable produce is 15 percent; in the Russian Federation it is 18 percent, in the Ukraine—21 percent, and in Moldova—41 percent.

Flax has been pulled over nearly one-fourth of the area. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], Udmurtia, and Tver and Kirov Oblasts are selling raw flax to the state.

The grain farmers are also concerned about next year's harvest. In the Northwestern, Central, Volga-Vyatka, and Urals Regions the sowing of winter crops is under way. Here there is cause for rejoicing—2.1 million hectares have been sown, twice as much as by the same date last year.

Kuban State of Emergency for Harvesting Period

LD1508035091 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Text] The Kuban authorities have introduced a state of emergency for the harvesting period, that is from 15 August to 1 November. They also called for 3.65 million tonnes of grain to be sold to the republic's grain reception point in addition to the earlier approved tax in kind.

Military

'System,' Conditions in Navy Criticized

OW2008065991 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 2230 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Video Report by Aleksandr Ostrovskiy; from the "Serving the Fatherland" program]

[Text] It is not by accident that we start this report with the emergency signal flag. The prestige of the fleet and its intellectual strength are diminishing. The shore, headquarters, and reserves are the ultimate goal of high-class professionals and youth, which is the future of the Navy. It may well happen that in three or four years—which will be the 300th anniversary of the Russian Navy—naval forces will find themselves facing a deficit of commanders, and ships crews will be graded as reduced-strength. There are a variety of reasons for this.

Five radio and electronics lieutenants declared a hunger strike on the aircraft carrier Admiral Gorshkov in the spring of this year. There was a single reason—a desire to quit the Navy, join a joint enterprise, earn a bit more, have a prestigious profession and a normal job and life. They got what they wanted, and they are not in the Navy anymore. The Navy will probably survive this loss, but what should be done if tomorrow others follow these lieutenants? [video shows naval flag being hoisted, Kiev class aircraft carrier, montage of activities aboard ships, interview with Pavel Sinyak, warrant officer]

[Begin recording] [Ostrovskiy] Pavel, why have you decided to leave the Navy?

[Sinyak] There are a few reasons for this, both objective and subjective, but there are two main reasons. First, there is the social vulnerability—I have been here in the north since 1989, and still have no apartment, so that my wife and child, who stayed here and lived with me for half a year, had to rent an apartment. Second, the pay is very low; 600 rubles is not enough, and that includes last month's increase—it was 450 rubles before. So, the pay is not sufficient, and it is difficult to make ends meet.

[Ostrovskiy] What kind of job are you looking for?

[Sinyak] I have a profession in civilian life, which is in civil radio equipment. So, I found out that by working as a radio technician in a shop I will have a decent salary, about 800 rubles. I submitted my separation request two months ago, but it is practically impossible to quit the Armed Forces at one's own discretion. I have been serving on this ship since 1988, have received a rating of excellent in combat and political training, and have won the respect of my comrades. In two months so many documents were drawn up on me that I am being fired for discrediting my military rank, which will be stripped from me, and that is it. Still, I like the Navy very much, and I know that this ship needs me. [end recording]

The experiment in tenure, in staffing the Navy with professional sailors, is under threat. [Video shows Sovremennyy class destroyer Gremyashchiy, interview with seamen, the first of whom is identified as Sinchishin, an ex-cadet from the Higher Naval Diving Academy. The second seaman remains unidentified]

[Begin recording] [Sinchishin] I do not know about professionals. If the organization remains the same, I think that nothing will happen. Take our warrant officers for example, they could be counted as professionals—they have tenure and their salary is adequate—and yet they leave.

[Ostrovskiy] So if, for example, you were paid 300 rubles?

[Sinchisin] With the same organization, it would do no good.

[Second seamen] Nobody will stay in service.

[Sinchishin] What we would like is to serve the three years and complete our service in a normal way as required, work and take vacations as regulated—then the seamen here would serve too. Probably nobody here knows this, but I had plans to enter a naval academy, I was prepared to serve for three years, and did everything to come here, so I...

[Ostrovskiy interrupting] So, are you entering an academy?

[Sinchisin] No.

[Ostrovskiy] Why?

[Sinchisin] Why? Because what I saw was not what I imagined. However, I tried hard and prepared myself and did not mind the alerts, and so forth. I have seen a lot of things here that are different.

[Second seaman] An officer should only be someone who has completed his conscription. An officer should complete his three years and then join up to become an officer. He would be a completely different, a better officer.

[Ostrovskiy] Well, here is a good future officer, but for some reason he does not want to do this. Tell us honestly, why do you not want to continue in the service?

[Sinchisin] Because I do not like it here, that is why.

[Ostrovskiy] The organization of military service? Maybe it is the lifestyle?

[Sinchisin] Please understand. You see, I see the officer's duties, I see what he does. My father told me before I started my service: Oleg, watch and learn, or more correctly, think carefully. My parents, they were not against it. I came into the service and saw everything for myself. I saw how the officers live. Of course I was told about it, about how it was for the young, the romance of it, it is understandable.

[Ostrovskiy] That is, aboard ship from morning till night, and at night too.

[Sinchisin] Yes, of course. Someone has not sewn on a button, so you are made to stay on board because of someone else. Who needs this? And what if we are here in Severomorsk, in this winter, this weather? What if you have a family, a wife and children?

[Ostrovskiy] So what is the way out of all of this?

[Sinchisin] I do not know. [end recording]

That was the reasoning of the sailor Sinchishin, ex-cadet at the Higher Naval Diving Acadamy. [video cuts to show destroyer Gremyashchiy, interview with sailors]

[Begin recording] [Sinchisin] The naval system is probably to blame. No matter what kind of man he is, no matter how good he is, having entered the Navy he will

become like the the rest of the officers. He will simply not be able to swim against the current.

[Ostrovskiy] So, should the training system be changed?

[Sinchisin] Maybe something should be changed in the whole naval system, the system of service. You see, an officer today, even if he is a good man, is torn between his commander and his subordinate. He may treat his subordinate well, but at the same time he has to take care of his career, his advancement, his next rank. After all, he has a family to take care of. Therefore, it is very difficult for the officers to play up to both the sailors and the superior officer. [Video cuts to show interview with cadets on shore]

[Ostrovskiy] Today, cadets and young officers leave the Navy. Why have you decided to stay and tie your fate to the Navy in spite of it all?

[Cadet Chipko] I think that there is only one simple reason—someone must serve protecting our Motherland. I think that, especially in such a difficult period, this is the thing our country needs the most.

[Cadet Penkov] How can one talk about prestige when, speaking frankly, sheer idiocy is rampant both in units and in our academy.

When inspections and the big-starred brass come, they do not inspect the learning process or the material resources, how they teach us over there—they just inspect the cleanliness and tidiness of the companies and the quarters, which is the easiest thing to do—to inspect how the company snaps to attention, how it stands in formation, the condition of the headgear or the haircut. All this might be important, but not as important as the process of study.

[Cadet Tsysoyev] I applied for the academy but was not accepted, I did not pass the competition. So I entered a university to study the very same profession, so as not to lose a year. I studied some and next year had myself transferred here from the university. In other words, I simply achieved my goal, the thing I wanted.

Another thing that I want to say is that the prestige does not enter my considerations. It is not that I had no other choice, it is just that I could not imagine another profession. I have been brought up like this since my birth, and my brother too is an officer and graduated from the same academy, so I followed in his footsteps. Another thing that I would like to say is that in spite of the situation now, governments come and go but the Army will always be needed. As to what kind of Army that will be—this is a simple matter, people deserve the kind of Army they have. [end recording]

A Navy seaman must be a patriot and a romantic. It is a kind of sea knot that holds the whole Navy together. The Navy seamen are beset by thoughts of obsolescence, low social status and the inferior existence of their families, and cannot fully concentrate on the sacred and noble task of defending the fatherland. Do we really need another disaster to make us turn towards the man with the shoulder bars? Is it not more reasonable and cheaper to carry out a military reform, the first sprouts of which have had such a hard time making any headway. [Video shows Sovremennyy class destroyers anchored at a North Sea naval base]

'Radar' Program Discusses Navy Issues

OW1208054891 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 2230 GMT 27 Jul 91

["Radar" program on Soviet Navy Day]

[Excerpts] [Begin Recording] [Voloshin] Hello dear friends. The Radar program cordially greets you on the day of the wonderful and glorious holiday of Soviet sailors. At this moment naval ships are anchored in parade formations on roadsteds, flags are flying, and Soviet people according to the custon of past years, are honoring their sailors. Now from this improvised wardroom [at the Ostankino Studio] we invite you to our wardroom which is probably the biggest wardroom in our fleet today. We hope that our wardroom will unite all of our television viewers today.

I would now like to introduce the members of our wardroom who are headed, so to speak, by the Model Navy Band, sitting here, which is marking its 50th anniversary this year. I would now like to give the floor to my assistant, journalist Aleksandr Korshunov.

[Korshunov] Sitting here are people we have gathered for this celebration, professional sailors who have given their lives to the fleet and this cause, and young sailors on temporary service. [passage omitted]

[Voloshin] Also present is Comrade Vladimir Vasilyevich Mikharin, chairman of the Northern Fleet veterans council, and allow me to also present commanders of the Navy who are here: Fleet Admiral Ivan Matveyevich Kapitanets, First Deputy Commander in Chief of the Navy, and Stanislav Pavlovich Golovin, USSR people's deputy and secretary of the Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Affairs.

So this is the group in our wardroom. In the meantime, at this moment the naval flag is being raised on the Guards Destroyer Gremyashchiy. [Video shows a "Sovremenyy" class destroyer in port, the name Gremyashchiy on its stern quarter, and the flag-raising ceremony] [passage omitted in which Kapitanets reads Navy Day message] [video shows Murmansk studio and journalist Arkadiy Lander introducing those present]

[Lander] As you have understood, this is the Murmansk studio. We greet everyone on holiday, and I must say that of course the size of our wardroom cannot be compared to the one presently organized in Ostankino. The possibilities of the two studios cannot be compared. But we have here people ranging from sailors to Vice

Admiral Igor Vladimirovich Kasatonov, First Deputy Commander of the Northern Fleet, as well as crews from two warships, the destroyer Gremyashchiy, which has already been mentioned, and the nuclear- powered cruiser Kirov. Maintaining communications will be journalists Vyacheslav Murzayev and Arkadiy Lander.

[Murzayev] And we hope that with this complement today we will be able to describe the life of our Red Banmner Northern Fleet today. [Video cuts back and forth between Ostankino and Murmansk studios]

[Voloshin] We would like to begin our conversation between the people in the Murmansk wardroom and here about how the fleet has met its holiday today.

[Lander] With Igor Vladimirovich Kasatonov we are ready to begin the discussion.

[Voloshin] Go ahead.

[Kasatonov] The summer training has begun. Here in the polar region this is a special training period when the dark polar night gives way to constant daylight. . .

[Lander interrupting] And nothing can be concealed.

[Kasatonov] We cannot conceal things, so this is another peculiarity which imposes certain conditions on our work. We have received the young conscripts and they are successfully taking up their positions, although there are some difficulties in this area. After all, not all young sailors showed up to take their places at combat posts on ships, in the ranks of our marines, and in units on shore. [Video shows a variety of surface combatants and a submarine of the Northern Fleet, including a "Sovremenyy" class destroyer and a "Kirov" class cruiser]

We have met the holiday with our ships successfully solving tasks of combat service and lengthy voyages far from home. Sailors of the Northern Fleet are on guard both above and below the water and in distant ocean voyages.

Literally a few days ago a group of ships under the command of Admiral Gromov, Commander of the Northern Fleet, ended a visit to the United States. [Video shows Gromov in the Ostankino Studio then cuts to show naval activities at sea] The new thinking is continuing along its path and in this sphere we are finding certain common opinions on separate issues and our dialogue with the U.S. Navy is continuing.

In connection with the fact that we have begun a new period of training we are thinking about the future, thinking about how we will conclude the academic year, and thinking about what we will report to the Soviet people about its outcome. In principle the results will not differ from previous years and generally we will invariably maintain our standards in questions of operational, tactical, and firepower training.

[Kasatonov continues] But of course there are issues that concern us, questions such as supplies for our ships, particularly with technical materiel and food, and a number of other problems that of course we will resolve. But I would like to say that these are not only issues for the navy, they are problems for the country and, making use of this rostrum, we appeal to all leaders in oblasts who are responsible for provisioning the fleet to see that these issues are resolved in the best possible way, because our children and grandchildren are serving in the fleet and the fleet is also a national concern.

[Kapitanets] The navy has four arms of service—submarines, surface ships, naval aviation, and other troops. In other words the fleet is balanced in terms of arms of service and in quantity and quality. Presently a program for the immediate future for developing and creating our fleet has been worked out. Of course in developing and creating the fleet we are taking into consideration both recent local wars and the 1982 Falklands crisis, as well as the Persian Gulf. Therefore the requirements, how the fleet should look and what systems and equipment must be provided, are clear to us. Of course there are problems and difficulties. Now we have had problems and difficulties in past years as well, even when I began my service in the Northern Fleet as a lieutenant. If, through a time prism, I could look at what we young lieutenants had to face in the north, it seems to me there were more difficulties in the past.

Presently I would say, both the state and the people do not grudge the means to create the Navy and to create the conditions of service for officers, warrant officers, petty officers, and sailors.

[Voloshin] I understand. Ivan Matveyevich, nevertheless, I have visited the fleets, in particular I was in Severomorsk during the tragic days when we were all grieving our submarine Komsomolets. But we still hear from veterans that combat readiness was higher during the stagnation years. Now would you agree with this? For instance Oleg Gerasimovich, commander of the Naval combat training department, is here, so would you. . . .

[Kapitanets] I would not say that combat readiness was higher during the stagnation years. We should say that when we had an offensive doctrine the nature of training of the fleet's forces was different in its orientation. At the time there were major voyages by ships such as Okean-70 and Okean-75—major maneuvers in the Pacific Ocean, the Atlantic, and the Mediterranean. That is, the scale of training was considerably greater than it is now. And that is the difference, the scale of combat readiness and the number of forces participating now is less, because the confrontation between the groupings, between NATO and our camp, has changed, I would say. That is why all this leaves its imprint on training.

[Voloshin] Well, we do not have any camps left, as we say, right? However, recent events in the Persian Gulf have shown precisely that the U.S. Navy is striving for supremacy in the worlds' oceans, to have its' preponderance in this regard. So, we would like to know how our Navy feels these days.

[Kapitanets] Now I would like to add something else. We say that the relations between the United States and the NATO block and our side have ostensibly warmed up or improved. This is true. The confrontation may have disappeared, but in essence, the relations have not changed. Why? Because the American doctrine, the military doctrine of direct confrontation and opposition and the concept of forward maritime lines [rubezhy] as a maritime strategy have not been changed by the Americans. [Video cuts to show Rear Admiral V. A. Polyanskiy, Chief of the Main Shipbuilding Directorate, in the Ostankino Studio]

[Polyanskiy] Undoubtedly, naval building at the present time reflects the processes which are going on in the country on the whole. That is, the solution of military technical issues in the navy is a result of new thinking in respect of war and peace, our leaning more towards a defensive type of doctrine. And that is why, as you have mentioned, the well known issues of the reduction in appropriations for purchases of military weapons equipment, and undoubtedly, this adversely affects the building of the navy. Nonetheless, the tasks facing the navy require us to define the priorities in shipbuilding which will permit us to resolve these tasks more effectively.

Now what is this direction? This trend is, as has been already reported here by Fleet Admiral Ivan Matveyevich Kapitanets, First Deputy Commander in Chief of the Navy, that the nuclear fleet comes first. This is the fundamental basis, and this trend will continue. [Video cuts to show a Charlie II class submarine underway, a Ka-27 helicopter, and an Su-27K operating off an Admiral Kuznetsov class aircraft carrier] (?We also have) a trend towards diesel submarines, and their construction will ensure fulfillment of tasks in contiguous and inland seas. This task is not being canceled. And next come aircraft carriers. Now with a defensive doctrine their role increases to a greater degree, because they must ensure the stability, the combat stability and operation of naval forces, or rather general purpose forces.

Further, this trend calls for providing missile and artillery ships, mine sweepers, and supply ships, because the fleet must be functional. [video shows naval choir singing at a naval dockyard, then cuts to Murmansk studio]

[Lander] I think it is nonetheless important to emphasize that above all our fleet today depends on the young men who enter the navy.

[Murzayev] Who comes in today. It is very important to mention what they bring, the baggage they bring with them. As far as I know, you very often have to associate with the young men and with those who are coming into the naval service today. What do they bring with them? [video shows Murzayev talking to unidentified sailor in the Murmansk studio]

[First sailor] I want to say that at present—I mean during the latest call up—as soon as the young men learned that they would be serving two years they calmed down a lot. In other words, the psychological pressure on me before, when I was called up... [changes thought] After all, three years is a longer period of time than two. They did not face this barrier. On the other hand, the wealth of information—and sometimes it is fairly one-sided—about service in the army and navy also influences them in a way because, regardless of which paper you read, if there are any articles about the army or navy they invariable cite negative examples about relations that are at variance with regulations. In other words, when a young man arrives to do his service, one of his first questions is: How are things here in this regard?

[Murzayev] In other words, he already anticipates something when he arrives, and he wonders when it will begin?

[First sailor] Yes, when will it begin. So this is a burden.

[Murzayev] Well, I agree with you because quite often, when one comes in contact with conscripts, with those who will be serving... well, youths today are simply afraid to serve for the very reasons that you have mentioned. [passage omitted in which a video documentary—viewed on screens in the studio—shows service conditions as well as interviews with servicemen flying Beriyev Be- 12 aircraft at a naval aviation unit, in a Northern Fleet construction battalion, and on the cruiser Kirov; video then cuts to show S.P. Golovin, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Affairs, at the Ostankino studio]

[Golovin] What is happening here now is that a conscript, when he comes into the army and takes his oath, is absolutely unprepared for anything. So what does it mean to arrive on a ship straight from the school desk? In other words, we are devoting too little to the training cycle as well as to outstanding and good training equipment. Even here, when we are cutting money on defense—and we are saving at a rate which no country can match—the only thing I do not know is to what further degree we can cut back. It seems we are approaching a limit. We should devote a greater amount of money for the construction and design of new and good training equipment.

Yes indeed, we are cutting money for defense. I repeat, we are cutting back at a great rate while the Americans are only promising to cut back by 2 to 3 percent, although this is not in fact happening. So we must give priority to an outstanding training base and use it to train preconscription-aged youths, as is in fact being done very well in DOSAAF [Voluntary Association for Promoting the Army, Air Force, and Navy] flying clubs. At the same time (?we) are to a great extent neglecting this insofar as there is an adopted decision of the RSFSR government about ending preconscription training in schools—the so-called survival courses. So we are again losing combat preparadness. Taking into consideration

that even in the navy—and this I consider to be a particularly difficult and responsible service which includes autonomous voyages and a one on one meeting with the sea—the length of service is two years...

[Kapitanets interrupting] It is difficult to train someone in anything.

[Golovin] It is now difficult just to get into the rhythm of military service.

[Voloshin] Thank you, Stanislav Pavlovich. Murmansk wants to say something.

[Lander] We would like a word, because you have asked a question and are attempting to answer it too. Vladimir Petrovich, please. [video shows Captain First Rank V.P. Koropets, deputy chief of the submarine combat training department, in the Murmansk studio]

[Koropets] Comrades, I would like to say that every action naturally causes an opposite reaction. Yes, it has become harder for us. Harder because, as we have said, sailors are serving for a shorter period of time. There is a big shortage in personnel and officers on ships. But accidents have not decreased because we are sailing less—we are sailing a great deal. For instance a few days ago the guards crews returned from exercises which the fleet conducted, large-scale exercises in which practically all arms of forces took part.

Accidents have decreased because a great deal more time is being devoted in the navy to preparing for these exercises. This is not simply because of efforts at the top, as one usually hears—that is, because only the command staff is learning. We are beginning to master our training system precisely by starting it with sailors.

[Voloshin] Let us discuss who is in fact serving today. Now in the Murmansk studio we have the crew of the guards destroyer Gremyashchiy. So now let us take a look into the sailor's quarters of the destroyer Gremyashchiy. After all, in the past the sailors always said what they were told to say by the commander. Now today, a sailor can speak his own mind. [Video cuts to show antenna set at top of a ship's mast, then cuts to show sailors on board a ship]

[Second sailor] I have seen a lot of things here that are different.

[Third sailor] An officer should only be someone who has completed his conscription. An officer should complete his three years and then join up to become an officer. He would be a completely different, a better officer.

[Unidentified correspondent addressing the second sailor] Well, here is a good future officer, but for some reason he does not want to do this. Tell us honestly, why do you not want to continue in the service?

[Second sailor] Because I do not like it here, that is why.

[Correspondent] The organization of military service? Maybe it is the lifestyle?

[Second sailor] Please understand. You see, I see the officer's duties, I see what he does. My father told me before I started my service: Oleg, look and learn, or more correctly, think carefully. My parents, they were not against it. I came into the service and saw everything for myself. I saw how the officers live. Of course I was told about it, about how it was for the young, the romance of it, it is understandable.

[Correspondent] That is, aboard ship from morning till night, and at night too.

[Second sailor] Yes, of course. Someone has not sewn on a button, so you are made to stay on board because of someone else. Who needs this? And what if we are here in Severomorsk, in this winter, this weather? What if you have a family, a wife and children?

[Correspondent] So what is the way out of all of this?

[Second sailor] I do not know. [Video cuts back to Ostankino]

[Voloshin] What do the responsibilities, the guard responsibilities of sailors represent today? We spoke about the two-year period of service now in the navy. It was pointed out here that the two-year period is insufficient and could undermine the standard of training of personnel. How does the Supreme Soviet Committee view this?

[Golovin] The decision has been made. The service period is two years. Therefore, personal opinion is one thing, while the decision of the Supreme Soviet is quite another matter. There are draft laws being prepared at the moment. There are two draft laws being worked on in the Committee which, of course, were presented to the Supreme Soviet in not quite a legal way, on the instructions of Gorbachev, Lukyanov and Pavlov—so we have some differences [nestykovka] beginning here.

Nevertheless, to expedite the adoption of these draft laws two working groups were formed and the work is progressing actively. Should we retreat? Well I think we simply should not talk about this at this festive table. But it stipulates, for example, who has the right to get a deferment. Because, sooner or later, at this table we will return to a discussion of the fact that we have stopped calling up students. This law on universal conscription and military service very clearly indicates who has a right to deferment. This covers family situation, the state of health, and it includes those young people who did not have time to obtain a secondary education. Certain privileges are granted: A young family man has the right to serve close to home. After all, we must consider his family situation.

I can also say something about our Committee. Our Committee receives a stream of two diametrically opposed types of letters. Some letters ask—even those to the Committee of Soldier's Mothers, in particular those

from the Leningrad Committee of Soldiers' Mothers,—for the Supreme Soviet to repeal its earlier decision on deferment of conscription of students. Conversely, others are for deferment and ask for an even wider category of deferments. I can both agree and disagree with this. But since the decision has been made, that is one thing, although both the Navy and the Soviet army, but particularly the Navy, find themselves in a very grave situation. In the Far East, after the adoption of this law by a Supreme Soviet resolution, the coast guard, consisting of four ships, had one moored at the dock due to a lack of crew.

Additionally, internal army conflicts, such as: Why must my service colleague resign into the Reserve—he must resign into the reserve rather than be demobilized since we are not at war—but I must continue serving? So we had a division into black and white. For some reason a rumor is circulating now that the Supreme Soviet is presently preparing a resolution repealing its previous decision. I can assure those young people who are entering the army that this is not true. This work is not being done. Maybe someone at sometime presupposed something, however, at the moment there are no such draft laws or draft resolutions in the Supreme Soviet.

[Murzayev] We would like to draw your attention to another point: Who comes to serve in the navy today? [video shows Murzayev addressing Guards Petty Officer First Class V.A. Shornikov in the Murmansk studio] You have just returned after picking up the new conscripts.

[Shornikov] Yes. As a rule they pass them on to us there simply to get rid of them: So, you have come for these people? Here, take all we have. We do not know anything else nor do we have anybody else. If you do not want them, leave them.

In other words, there is no selection process, we get anybody. But the navy is not a place for everyone. Not everyone can make it. You get seasick. And there are other difference.

[Murzayev] I think the commander will support you. [video shows Murzayev turning to address Guards Captain-Lieutenant V.G. Tikhonov, deputy commander for military political affairs of the destroyer "Gremyashchiy"]

[Tikhonov] He is quite right. What he says is true. Previously the conscripts were selected so that the strongest and best trained conscript was sent to the navy. This was prestigious. Now we are simply sent anybody who is available. As a result we have suicides [suitsidy], as a result we have mothers weeping over the fate of their sons. Why? It is because there is a percentage that does not withstand the stresses that exist in the navy, although we have modern ships with comfortable living conditions.

[Murzayev] So under these existing conditions can we talk about traditions today?

[Tikhonov] It is very, very difficult to talk about traditions. They are being lost because people are coming in at random. It is not a question of being a fanatic, it is simply because they are not looking for adventure in the service.

[Lander] I think we have a very interesting point here. If today we are constantly making references to history in our discussion, I would like to recall the first commander in chief of the Northern Fleet, Konstantin Ivanovich Dushenov, who spoke about the conditions under which a sailor must normally serve. First, people who both want to serve and can should serve in the fleet. Second, there must be competitive selection for the fleet. You may recall that (Fokin) spoke about in the 1930s. Another essential condition is that the sailor at sea be constantly attracted to the shore. In other words conditions on shore must always be attractive to him. I am talking about the social guarantees that must today be offered to a sailor, so that while he is at sea normally defending the shore, he must want to be ashore. This is a natural state of affairs for a sailor. I think this is a very important point and it should be remembered today, when the necessary conditions are being created for people. [passage omitted]

Army Party Committee's Surkov Interviewed

PM1508142191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Aug 91 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General M.S. Surkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the All-Army Party Committee, by the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office; date and place unspecified: "Strengthen the Unity of Party Ranks"]

[Text] [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Mikhail Semenovich, the CPSU Central Committee plenum is now over. There has been great public interest in it. That is natural: It discussed the draft of the new CPSU Program, which defines our party's tasks and objectives, ways in which it can be renewed, and directions and methods of action. We would like to hear your opinion, Mikhail Semenovich.

[Surkov] It really is a special time now in our party and the country as a whole. People are waiting for the draft CPSU Program. Let me give you one telling example: Since April this year, party committees at all levels have received more than 200,000 appeals. These constructive proposals and sincere, heartfelt advice and wishes are convincing evidence that Communists in the Armed Forces attach great importance to the party's programmatic document and to its strengthening its position and authority in society, and they are linking their hopes with its future.

As far as my own attitude toward the plenum is concerned, first of all I would like to point out that predictions that it would be the scene of a split in the CPSU were proved wrong. The plenum was held in a spirit of

harmony and a constructive atmosphere. Yes, there was a lot of criticism—sharp, principled, but just criticism. The draft program was greatly enhanced intellectually in the course of the discussion. A great many additions and amendments were introduced. That is the plenum's most important feature.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] What is your opinion of the draft program?

[Surkov] First of all I would like to say that the proposed draft essentially serves its purpose. That is why it was adopted as a basis at the Central Committee plenum. It will be published for discussion when all the finishing touches have been made. This extremely important document provides clear guidelines and strong impetus for a a partywide discussion.

I share the opinion that this draft program is fundamentally different from previous versions in both form and content. The ideas reflected in it convincingly show that humane, democratic socialism is not an abstract scheme or the "greatest utopia in history," as RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President B.N. Yeltsin ventured to define socialism when addressing students at New York University in the United States.

However, I feel I must say something about the sense of dissatisfaction and understatement you get when you read the draft program's assessment of the role played by social democrats and Bolsheviks and the activity of Vladimir Ilich Lenin himself. Unfortunately, there was not enough room in the draft to give an in-depth description of the party's ideological education function. It should give a truthful assessment of the party's tragic mistakes but also of the great role it plays in protecting our country's fundamental interests.

With regard to the section "Immediate Objectives Concerning the Country's Security and Defense," I feel it needs a lot more work done on it. It should consider the moral climate in military collectives and the numerous proposals received from military districts, groups of forces, fleets, and party committees.

Enriched with fresh ideas and the experience of party organizations' work in all kinds of very difficult conditions, this document must, as a whole, provide the opportunity for all healthy forces in the party to unite. Today, maintaining CPSU unity means maintaining stability in society, defending the unity of our state, and guaranteeing the breath of life for progressive perestroyka processes.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] In his report to the plenum M.S. Gorbachev said that, at the present stage in society's development, the CPSU can count on success as the party of political action. In this connection, how do you feel about the RSFSR presidential decree on departyizing the state service and terminating party organizations' activity at enterprises and establishments?

[Surkov] The question of departyizing state structures, including the Army, has been raised increasingly often just lately. The epicenter of the political battle seems to be moving to the RSFSR. What can I say? The demand for departyization is untenable from a legal viewpoint. It conflicts with the USSR Constitution, the USSR Law "On Public Associations," and the international pact on civil and political rights and will thereby lead to growth in legal nihilism, increased political confrontation in society, the curtailment of democratic processes, and the establishment of a dictatorship. This is particularly intolerable in the final stage of preparations to conclude a new Union treaty.

Adopting the decree on the eve of the CPSU Central Committee plenum was obviously intended to distract Communists from discussing the draft program, provoke a split in the party, and, ultimately, remove the CPSU as a consolidating force from the country's political life. That is our position. It is reflected in the published statement issued by the bureau of party committees of CPSU organizations of the USSR Armed Forces, USSR KGB, and USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops.

No unbiased person can fail to understand that, in the present circumstances, departyization will lead to the destruction of the state system at all levels and to the undermining and disintegration of the USSR Armed Forces.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Mikhail Semenovich, it was noted at the plenum that the party is experiencing a serious crisis. In these conditions, various radical trends have begun to form within the CPSU. The organizers of the Movement for Democratic Reforms [MDR] have announced their intention to form a democratic superparty in opposition to the CPSU in the fall of this year. We would like to hear your opinion on this very acute problem.

[Surkov] We share your concern on this subject. Hence the fundamental importance of the clause in the draft which says that thorough democratization of the party must be the leading criterion for its renewal. I think it would make sense if the draft program were to be more specific on the question of strengthening CPSU unity.

Army Communists do not reject everything working for progressive, democratic transformations in society. We support and broadly propagandize among members of the military all decisions adopted by the USSR Congresses of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR president which aim to create a rule-of-law state guaranteeing freedom of spiritual development for the individual, a dignified life for every Soviet citizen, and the security of our country.

I will be frank about the MDR: We are opposed to this political game, which the All-Army Party Committee Bureau has made plain in the mass media. This undertaking by the authors of the movement is transparently divisive.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Not so long ago you were appointed head of the All-Army Party Committee of the USSR Armed Forces CPSU organization—a large, autonomous detachment of the party in the Army and Navy. What can you tell us about the organizational and political formation of the new structures, and do they still have influence in the military collectives?

[Surkov] In accordance with 28th CPSU Congress decisions, a single independent organization—a constituent part of the CPSU—has been functioning in the Army and Navy for some four months now. It has more than 1 million people in its ranks and 37,000 primary party organizations. Party structures have been reorganized throughout the Army.

It is quite obvious that everything happening in our society and our party is mirrored in the life of the Army party organization. In some respects it is easier for us—and in others, more difficult. We have to learn a lot as we go along. Unfortunately, we are still not being persistent and active enough in fine-tuning the mechanism of party organizations' relations with military control organs and with social organizations. In a number of places, party organizations are taking a wait-and-see attitude and sizing up the situation, there are fewer people joining the party and more people leaving, and "turncoats" have appeared.

However, the majority of party organizations have retained their authority and influence in military collectives and are firmly committed to the socialist choice and a single statehood. Despite certain difficulties, we have essentially managed to maintain the party stratum in the main categories of officers at the same level as previous years. On average, it accounts for 70 percent of personnel—and 95-100 percent in control organs. All battalion and regiment commanders and above are members of the CPSU. The party gained more than 11,000 new members in the first six months of this year.

I must point out in particular that, the more difficult and dramatic the situation becomes and the more slander there is against the party and the USSR president, the more people display political maturity, organization, and unity. I personally and my comrades have been convinced of this more than once among the troops in the Transcaucasus, Baltic, Carpathian, and Far East military districts and in a number of units in the Strategic Rocket Forces and Air Defense Forces.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] A great deal is now being said and written about the program of social and legal protection for military servicemen, members of their families, and personnel transferred to the reserve. What role do party committees play in this important work?

[Surkov] Unfortunately, this targeted state program has been announced but is only slowly being put into practice. The housing problem remains extremely serious. At present, some 200,000 servicemen do not have proper accommodation. And what about the 220,000 servicemen's wives looking for employment? Servicemen in the Baltic, the Transcaucasus, and Moldova are in a very difficult situation. In the Baltic, for example, essential goods are now three to five times more expensive and prices are still rising rapidly. All kinds of people are liable for grants—except servicemen. The salary of a lieutenant, senior lieutenant, or captain lasts 15-20 days at best. Add to this the well-known discrimination with regard to obtaining a residence permit and getting children into preschool institutions, and the constant moral oppression, and it is not hard to imagine how important it is for party committees to decide the priority tasks in the social protection of military servicemen and members of their families.

Party committees in the Army and Navy constantly study people's mood and pay attention to their needs and enquiries. The most important aspect is work on an individual basis. We have set up public reception centers in many places. The whole point of this work is to help people. We submit proposals via Communist people's deputies with regard to draft laws on defense, military service, and social protection for servicemen, Army and Navy workers and employees, and members of their families.

And another point. While supporting the earliest possible signing of the Union treaty, the defense minister, Main Military-Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, the General Staff, the All-Army Party Committee, and Army and Navy committees are concerned by the fact that Union legislation on national defense issues is being ignored. The unconstitutional "handiwork" of a whole series of republics is amazingly irresponsible in this respect. Approximately 30 unlawful acts have been passed recently which jeopardize the combat ability of the Army and Navy and their mobilization readiness. Georgia, Lithuania, Armenia, Estonia, Latvia, and Moldova have essentially wrecked the drafting of new personnel.

Returning to the draft program, I would like to stress that this document—complete with additions and amendments based on the discussion at the plenum—must now be submitted for discussion by Communists without delay. The All-Army Party Committee regards the forthcoming work and preparations for the Extraordinary 29th CPSU Congress as a special period for the ideological rallying and organizational-political strengthening of party organizations in the Armed Forces. We are taking immediate action and outlining future measures in this connection.

We are devoting our main attention to working with people and studying their attitudes and their proposals for the draft program. We want to establish closer contact with commanders, staffs, military-political organs, and the broad mass of servicemen. During this period we are counting on closer collaboration with veterans—political workers in the Armed Forces, Communists who work in trade union and youth organizations, and military scientists.

I think the forthcoming discussion of this fundamental party document will contribute greatly to strengthening the unity of Army and Navy party organizations, which is a guarantee of a high level of combat readiness and strong military discipline.

Estonia

'Several Hundred' Tanks, APC's in Tallinn

OW2008135491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1255 GMT 20 Aug 91

[From "Express Edition No. 2"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On August 20 at about 9-10 a.m. [0600-0700 GMT] a column of several hundred tanks and armored personnel carriers [APC's] arrived in Tallinn.

BF's [BALTFAX's] correspondent reports that first tanks stopped near the village of Assaku on the outskirts of the city at about 8 a.m. They were met there by Chairman of the Tallinn City Council Andres Kork, some deputies of the City Council and representatives of the Tallinn Military Garrison who handed the decrees and appeals of the Russian President Boris Yeltsin in to the column's commander.

Mr. Kork told BF that the two sides had come to an agreement that tanks and armored personnel carriers would be stationed in the three districts of Tallinn—Kopli, Tondi and near the "Dvigatel" plant. He said that as long as tanks stay in these districts, neither the authorities, nor local population will undertake any actions against them. However, he said, if tanks roll in the streets, the authorities cannot be held responsible for the consequences.

The military had no any aggressive intentions and were willing to preserve peace in the city. However, they were not inclined to side with the Russian leadership.

According to preliminary reports from the Estonian Government's press center, a general strike is to begin in Estonia on Tuesday.

Tallinn on Military Advance

LD2008091391 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0607 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] At 0749 [0449 GMT], 79 armored vehicles and 46 trucks passed through Mao [half-way between Tartu and Tallinn]. In the opinion of the police, the front of the military column might now be about to reach Ardu or the vicinity, which is 60 kilometers from Tallinn. According to a forecast by the duty officer at the police department, the military may reach Tallinn by 0945 [0645 GMT], provided the column continues to move at the same pace of 30 to 40 kilometers an hour.

Just now the police department's deputy officer reported that the front end of the column of military vehicles has reached 30 kilometers from Tallinn. There are 11 vehicles and 44 tanks on the stretch of road from Vaida to Kose. Some vehicles have turned off Tartu Road at Kolu junction, but it is not known where they are heading.

Troops in 'Aggressive Mood'

LD2008113591 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0901 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Excerpts] As is known, the Soviet Army's military machinery is advancing toward Tallinn. Whoever listened to us at 1130 would have heard Andres Kork, chairman of Tallinn City Council, speak about his meeting with representatives of the Army. Here is a brief version of what Andres Kork said: [passage omitted]

[Begin Kork recording] The paratroopers are now in an aggressive mood. The men would like most of all to either return or to go into barracks. At the moment they are coming to Tallinn in three columns. Vehicles of the motor vehicle inspectorate are at the head of the columns. One section will go to barracks at Tondi, another to Kopli, and another to the Dvigatel factory. Then they will rest. Neither the commanders of the paratroop units approaching nor the commanders of Tallinn Garrison are at all interested in interfering with the events. For this reason, I have a request to fellow Tallinn citizens: Do not to undertake anything that could disturb them or serve as a provocation. The men, the paratroopers, will also do everything so as not to create a reaction from the population.

On the other hand, should an order from the top arrive, they will make a move, despite their knowledge that Taman and Kantemir divisions have (?split up). They do not wish to act, but it may come to that. They have also been informed of the fact that the people will not hinder them so far as they go in the direction of their barracks, behind a motor vehicle inspectorate vehicle. Should they attempt to come out of their barracks or the Dvigate factory, they will take into account the fact that the people will make a move against them.

I think that, since there is no ill will at this point, it would be nice if all people of Tallinn would endeavor not to hinder their progress to the barracks. [end recording]

Police Guard Strategic Installations

OW2008133391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 20 Aug 91

[From "Express Edition No.3"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Raik Saart, the police prefect in Tallinn, has told BF [BALTFAX] that the introduction of troops into the Estonian capital was not accompanied by any incidents. He said the troops belonged to the paratrooper division from Pskov.

Estonia's parliament and government have taken extra measures to protect Tallinn's strategic installations and barricaded the government house, the parliament, the radio and TV center and the TV tower with trucks, buses and concrete slabs. These buildings are guarded by policemen armed with submachine-guns.

Tallinn Harbor Blockaded by Soviet 'Warships'

LD1908155191 Stockholm Sveriges Radio Network in Swedish 1130 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Soviet Estonia's information office here in Stockholm says Tallinn Harbor has been blockaded by Soviet warships. The office says Estonian Foreign Ministry officials in Tallinn have reported by telephone that a ship from Finland had tried to turn back when it saw the blockade but was forced to enter the harbor. The head of a Swedish-Estonian ferry line, however, says that Tallinn Harbor has now been reopened.

General Strike Begins; Latvian Support Requested

LD2008124391 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1200 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] According to the latest information, Estonian Prime Minister Savisaar, in the name of the Estonian Government and through the mediation of Latvian Charge d'Affaires Berzins, has made the following announcement:

First, according to information presently at Savisaar's disposal, the planned attack on Toompea Castle began today, 20 August, at midnight. Also at midnight today, the government and the inhabitants of Estonia started an all-Estonian political strike. Commercial transportation, medical, and community service workers are not taking part in it. The Estonian Government asks Latvia to support this action.

Government Statement Backs Strike

LD2008092691 Moscow TASS in English 0843 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Tallinn August 20 TASS—The Government of Estonia has appealed to "all democratic forces in the present and former Soviet republics, as well as Baltic countries," calling for a close political cooperation to defend democracy and freedom.

The Estonian Government supported, in a statement released here, the call of Russia's "leaders to begin a general political strike and disobey the orders of the Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR.

Ruutel Requests Special Defense Council Powers

OW1908162991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1545 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At 16:00 a sitting of the Estonian Supreme Soviet began in Tallinn. It was addressed by parliamentary leader Arnold Ruutel who said that he had got a call from the commander of the Baltic Military District General Fyodor Kuzmin who said Estonia would be placed under emergency law.

According to Ruutel, Kuzmin ordered that "illegitimate military formations be disbanded." In connection with this order Ruutel requested the parliament to give special powers to Estonia's Special Defence Council headed by the parliament leader.

Estonia's Supreme Soviet is debating whether the request should be complied with.

Extraordinary Powers Granted

LD2008082991 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0600 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] The Estonian Supreme Soviet resolved to endow extraordinary powers to the Republic of Estonia Extraordinary Defense Council. A resolution to this effect was adopted last night at 2351 [2051 GMT]. The Extraordinary Defense Council will be given special powers should the work of the Supreme Soviet turn out to be blocked. The Defense Council was set up on 13 January of this year by a resolution of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

After midnight, the Estonian Supreme Soviet adopted an address to all states and parliaments of the world. It calls for nonrecognition of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency as a USSR representative in international politics. The Estonian Supreme Soviet appeals to states of the world to break any kind of political, economical, and other relations with those USSR areas that recognize the authority of the State Committee for the State of Emergency on their territory.

Foreign Minister Comments on Coup From Finland

LD1908161791 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1500 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri assures that the Estonian Government will continue its work for the restoration of independence. Meri, who is in Finland on a working visit, stresses that the events in the Soviet Union are also a danger to international stability.

Matti Vaeisaenen attended Foreign Minister Meri's news conference:

[Vaeisaenen] Today's events in the Soviet Union came as a surprise to the political leadership in Estonia. Prime Minister Savisaar is in Sweden and Foreign Minister Lennart Meri is in Finland on a working visit agreed upon earlier. At his news conference, Foreign Minister Meri said that the commander of the Baltic Military District had told the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian presidents today that, on the basis of the state of emergency regulations, all power to the Baltic countries had been transferred into the hands of the military commander. Meri said, however, that the Estonian Government was controlling its own territory and observing how the military commander was using his troops to maintain his power.

By this afternoon, at least, Meri had not received any information about arrests of representatives of the Estonian Government. According to Meri, the Estonian Government and parliament continued their work in Tallinn to protect the Estonian people. So far, at least, the time had not yet come to start establishing a government-in-exile abroad, Meri said. According to him, the Estonian Government will choose the best possible way of proceeding depending on how the situation develops in the Soviet Union.

The Estonian foreign minister described the events as a classical military coup and as a political tragedy. A writer and foreign minister, Meri hoped that the coup would in the end be a political tragedy for those who helped to lead nations back to totalitarianism. Foreign Minister Meri consistently called the new people in power a junta whose actions are also a danger to international stability.

Foreign Minister Meri says that the desperate attempt to halt the movement of political reform with weapons and tanks is dangerous also from the point of view of world peace. It also concerns the neighbors of the Soviet Union and the international military and political balance. The coup is also in conflict with Soviet laws, Meri said. He also said that he supported Russian President Boris Yeltsin's call for a general strike to oppose the coup if the usurpers of power do not give up their intentions.

Meri also assured that work to restore Estonia's independence would continue despite everything.

Meri has met with Foreign Minister Paavo Vaeyrynen during his visit last week and will meet members of the foreign political leadership today to report on events in Estonia.

Trade Minister Urges Support for Yeltsin

LD1908151691 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1200 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Interview with Estonian Trade Minister Jaak Leimann by correspondent Gunnar Paal, in Tallinn—live]

[Excerpts] [Paal] According to your information, what is the current situation in Estonia?

[Leimann] The situation is essentially calm, and I think that Estonian radio has provided prompt information about the main events, like the ones connected with the port, for example. [passage omitted]

[Paal] Does the new decree contain any orders for our legally elected bodies of power, for our executive bodies?

[Leimann] Well, if we consider ourselves subject to it, then it is indeed aimed at us. But the government has made a statement to this effect which states clearly that we are talking about a coup—or rather, it has been worded as an attempted coup because we do not yet think that the victory lies with the coup-makers. We say in our statement that Gorbachev, the legal president of the state, has been removed, and we say that what is taking place is in conflict both with international law as well as with the USSR Constitution and USSR law on the state of emergency.

The Estonian Government supports the appeal of Russian President Boris Yeltsin and other Russian leaders to call a general political strike and to disobey the orders of the emergency committee. The Estonian Government appeals to the population to be ready for a political general strike in Estonia. By way of explanation, I would say that we do not think that the strike should start now and just this way but a certain readiness should exist should events develop further in an unwanted direction.

The Estonian Government states that it will observe unswervingly the republican laws valid on the territory of Estonia as well as all Supreme Soviet and government resolutions. The government also appeals to the governments of the world to actively express their negative attitude to the military coup in the USSR and to support in every way the restoral of the lawful state power in the USSR. [passage omitted]

Official on Popular Resistance to 'Putsch'

LD1908184191 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Report by Gunnar Paal]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] At the moment we have asked Minister of State Raivo Vare [title as heard] to our microphones to hear his information about the present state of affairs.

[Vare] The situation demonstrates that we are talking about an attempt whose result is not at all yet clear, and it depends on all of us to ensure that the attempt to turn the tide of history does not succeed. Namely, quite interesting news is arriving from the East and it demonstrates that the hopes of the organizers of this, well, putsch, have not been fulfilled: popular resistance has turned out to be unexpectedly strong.

I would begin by saying that as listeners know, President Yeltsin has issued two decrees. The first of these decrees immediately established the fact that we are talking of a criminal act. He stated that all officials observing the resolutions of this self-appointed body of adventurers will be brought to responsibility according to Estonian-...[corrects himself] corresponding articles in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] criminal code related to treason. Now, another decree has also appeared—you know about it—and with it all bodies of executive power—including legal bodies—within the RSFSR have been subjected to RSFSR jurisdiction. This has also been stated very clearly. [passage omitted]

Now because the media has been blocked by the coup, we have also been approached for help in spreading the text—the texts—of the decrees as much as possible among the people. At present the texts of those decrees are being displayed both in Moscow and Leningrad, on

walls; they are being pasted up. [passage omitted] In addition, Leningrad is of course, of interest because in Leningrad the local directorate of internal affairs has declared its subordination—together with OMON, the Special People Militia Unit—solely to RSFSR laws. At the moment a session is taking place, and at last, in spite of a ban to enter the city, Mr. Sobchak arrived and he has already spoken. Tomorrow a joint session will take place in the morning with the oblast where resistance is also strong. [passage omitted]

Soviet-Estonian Communique on Talks

LD1808204991 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1730 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] Delegations of Estonia and the Soviet Union met yesterday and adopted a communique, which states the following:

The two sides exchanged ideas about the historical, political, and economic relations between the USSR and the Republic of Estonia.

First, the sides declare the important significance of the treaty signed by the USSR and the Republic of Estonia on 2 February 1920. Analyzing events between 1939 and 1991, the sides noted an attitude that was expressed on 24 December 1989 in a resolution adopted by the USSR Congress of Deputies and provided a political and judicial appraisal of the nonaggression pact between the USSR and Germany in 1939. At the same time, analyzing the relations between the USSR and Estonia from 1939 to 1991, a difference of opinion between the sides was expressed in various legal and political appraisals of this period, as well as in relation to the accession of the Republic of Estonia into the Soviet Union in 1940.

Second, in discussing economic questions, the sides examined questions of property, finance, money circulation, credit, and customs in economic relations between the USSR and the Republic of Estonia. In this sphere, attention was paid to constructive relations. The sides looked at the possibility of working out a unified conception for a transitional period. The sides agreed to charge their governments' expert groups with working out proposals for this.

Third, the sides examined the need to seek ways and means to normalize relations between the USSR and the Republic of Estonia and to avert differences of opinion.

We are reading the communique adopted by the delegations of Estonia and the USSR during their meeting on 16 August.

Latvia

Riga Ministry of Internal Affairs Occupied

LD1908213791 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2050 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] In Latvia at this time, about 14 hours into the coup, Radio Latvia is still broadcasting, but Latvian TV has been cut off the air since about 7:30 tonight following its occupation by Soviet military forces.

The Interior Ministry of the Republic of Latvia is also under occupation since shortly before nine o'clock this evening after armored vehicles carrying approximately 50 Soviet military personnel arrived at the site.

At about 10 p.m., after the taking of the Ministry, most of the Soviet military personnel left in armored vehicles, shooting flares and two rounds of automatic weapons fire into the air near Riga's Freedom Monument.

The headquarters of Latvia's Popular Front has also been attacked by four armed OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] members, according to latest reports.

Interior Ministry Troops Take Over TV Center

LD1908171891 Riga Radio Riga International in English 1652 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] This is Radio Riga International. We interrupt this broadcast to bring you a short news bulletin on the latest developments in the Latvian capital, Riga.

Half an hour ago, the television center in Riga was stormed in by the Soviet Interior Ministry's special commando troops, OMON, supported by helicopters. The television personnel has been allowed to leave the premises unharmed. The Radio Latvia still continues broadcasting. It seems that the emergency situation plan is being implemented here in Latvia. The Baltic Military District commander, Colonel Kuzmin, has informed Latvian Parliament Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs earlier today that he has been appointed as the main person in this area to execute directives of the State of Emergency Committee. If there is also resistance, then he will use all necessary means to enforce the USSR Constitution. And that is all from the Radio Riga International this time. We'll bring you the latest news as events develop.

Army Said To Occupy TV Center

LD2008080991

[Editorial Report] Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian at 2152 GMT on 19 August broadcasts a six-minute discussion between Aivars Berkis and Karlis Grinbergs dealing with the day's events. They discuss why people are not being asked to come to defend important locations. They also note that reports of armored vehicle movements create an impression of a lack of specific orders, and question whether this is being used to exert a psychological influence.

Grinbergs talks about the possibility of imprecise reports. Television correspondent Freidenfelds, who had been at the television building when transmissions were stopped, has just communicated with them, says Grinbergs. "He said that the description of the occupation broadcast by the radio was not accurate. Army assault

troopers and not OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] men had broken into the building, beaten up the militiamen guard on the ground floor, had then threatened the technical workers on the second floor by making them stand against a wall, and in the end had made everybody leave the premises. According to the words of Edvins Freidenfelds, nobody had remained in the building, but the mentioned assault troopers' helicopter had flown in when the television workers had left that building". Berkis adds that everybody understood that this time the events would be decided in Moscow.

TV Off Air, Media 'Hampered'

LD2008092791 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0800 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] The work of the Latvian democratic mass media is severely hampered, or in most cases, absolutely disrupted. Latvian Radio is compelled to broadcast from smaller studios, and Latvian television has been taken off the air. There is no information concerning the independent and democratic press situation in Latvia. In a decree signed by Gennadiy Yanayev, head of the USSR State Committee for the State of Emergency, all rights to publish newspapers and magazines are given to the special USSR State Committee for the State of Emergency. Central USSR television is the only channel allowed to broadcast television news in Latvia.

You are tuned to Radio Latvia. We are broadcasting from smaller studios. We apologize for the poor sound quality.

Seizure of TV Center Described

LD2008124191

[Editorial Report] Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian at 2115 GMT on 19 August carries an eight-minute report by reporter Konstantin Smirnov, who introduces Latvian television reporter Nikolay Vladimirov, who witnessed the seizure of the television center. Vladimirov talks about what preceded the seizure. He and his colleagues were near the television center filming a television report. They noticed busy traffic of military hardware and took a look at the special purpose militia detachment [OMON] base. They contacted the base by telephone, but were told that there could be no news about the base and that some news might be available only the following evening. They were forbidden to film outside the base, supposedly because "there was no command at the base."

Travelling back to the television center, they saw light tanks and armored personnel carriers carrying OMON troops. They arrived at the time it all happened. They saw it all from the bridge and filmed it all. He says: "People were excited and tried to prevent it, but the thugs—not even OMON men, they were paratroopers—arranged everything fairly brusquely."

They tried to get into the television center, but were not allowed: "We were accompanied by a militia lieutenant, but were immediately rebuffed by the paratroopers. An automatic weapon was aimed at us with the safety catch off. They told us to stand still, otherwise it would be bad for us. Naturally, we stood." Then the man guarding the entrance to the television center was taken away at high speed in an armored personnel carrier.

Vladimirov then presents an interview with the celebrated Latvian documentary filmmaker Juris Podnieks, who had been filming the events at the television center. Podnieks says that he does not know the fate of the television journalists inside the building, and that he had been detained and his film and camera confiscated by the troops. He expresses hope that this abnormal situation will not last for too long.

Vladimirov ends by saying that he has no news of the fate of his fellow television journalists and that he will be holding on to his film very tightly.

Radio, Telegraph, Telephone Centers Occupied

LD2008064391 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0600 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] According to information from the Latvian Telegraph Agency, at around 0500 in the morning [0200 GMT], assault troopers invaded Latvian Radio. The entire operation began with intensive firing from Doma Square. According to the information of the government and press service, two workers of Latvian Radio have been wounded in the exchange of fire.

Soldiers have also invaded the Latvian telegraph and the Riga long distance telephone exchange. Thus the Latvian Telegraph Agency has already for some time not been able to obtain long distance calls. But miraculously, the call dialed from ETA got through, and so the Estonian Telegraph Agency received this information.

Radio Moves, Continues Broadcasts

LD2008091191 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0800 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Attention! Latvian Radio is continuing to broadcast. The program, however, is no longer broadcasting from Radio House in Doma Square. You may look for us at approximately 1500 kHz on mediumwave, pinpointing it more exactly, at 1070 kHz 1540 kHz and 1600 kHz. Here we are attempting, as much as it is in our power, to acquaint you with issues here in Latvia, with the situation in all the Soviet Union, and with the more important adopted documents. [passage omitted]

High Frequency Radio Only Communication

OW2008132591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1255 GMT 20 Aug 91

[From "Express Edition No. 2"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Latvian vice premier, Ilmars Bisers, has reported that there have been considerably fewer tanks

and armored personnel carriers in the central part of Riga today. He has also said there are armed soldiers watching the operators' work at the central telephone exchange. Long distance telephone communications are not working in Riga, though local ones are.

The assistant press secretary of the Latvian mission in Moscow, Aleksandr Matveyev, has informed BF [BALTFAX] that, after the troops seized the telephone exchange in Riga this morning, the only functioning form of communication with Riga is high frequency radio.

Matveyev has also confirmed the information that the Latvian Radio building was occupied last night. The other buildings occupied last night included those of Latvian television, the Ministry of the Interior and the People's Front of Latvia.

The secretary of the Supreme Council of the Latvian Republic has reported that nearly the entire technical personnel of Latvian television and radio has refused to work "as long as the television and radio premises remain occupied".

Newly Created Committee Takes Over Liepaja

OW1908181691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1643 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On August 19 the commander of the Liepaja Military Garrison, Captain Stalev notified Deputy Chairman of the Liepaja City Council Andris Jaunsliena that he had been appointed the city's military commandant by the Admiral of the Baltic Military Council Ivanov.

Stalev said that power in the city belongs to a committee consisting of "the military and civilian representatives." He demanded the closure of some mass media within a week. "In case of riots, force will be used," he pointed out.

Chairman of the Liepaja City Council Imants Vusmanis said that the city council continues to operate. An emergency session of the city council is to open at 5 p.m.

The sales of alcoholic beverages has been prohibited in the city.

One Killed, One Wounded in Attack by OMON

LD1908214991 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 2000 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Unfortunately this time we are compelled to begin with the saddest news of today: blood has again been shed in the streets of Riga. Aivars Berkis, deputy of the Supreme Council, will speak about that.

[Berkis] Yes, today, 19 August—remember and take note of this date, because blood has again been shed in the streets of Riga. Along with Normunds Belskis [not further identified], we are now at the place of this occurrence, on 13 January Street, opposite the tunnel to the Central Market. Here, at around 2230, a Latvija minibus was traveling and quite probably drove into an area blocked off by the Special Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON] men.

In the beginning, they probably fired into the air, and after that at the bus. The driver, Raimonds Salmins, was killed, and his traveling companion Janis (Varpahovskis) has been shot in the legs. Both men had been working at the Union of Writers. [passage omitted] Witnesses testify that those who were shooting were in assault troopers' uniforms and in black berets. They had blocked the prefecture building.

Despite the shooting, there are a great many people at the center of Riga, and they all also saw that those who shot endeavored to eliminate the evidence by picking up cartridges. [passage omitted]

Death Toll Rises to Three

LD2008131491 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0900 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Last night at about 0730 GMT near Riga's Central Railway Station, a car was shot at by special purpose militia detachment [OMON] forces. The driver, Raimonds Salins, was killed, while one passenger was injured and is undergoing medical treatment. Both worked for Latvia's Writers' Union.

Juris Bekeris, an eyewitness to the seizure of Latvian Radio House in the center of Riga, died in the hospital this morning. He was severely injured when Soviet interior troops stormed the radio house.

Another victim of OMON terror recently died in the hospital. He suffered a traffic accident when his minibus collided with a Soviet armed vehicle on the bridge crossing Latvia's largest river, Daugava.

There are thus now three people dead and at least 10 seriously injured as a result of the Soviet Interior Ministry's special commando troops' violent activities.

Supreme Council Issues Announcement on Coup

LD1908162491 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1430 GMT 19 Aug 91

["Announcement of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia to the United Nations, the parliament, governments and peoples of the world"; issued in Riga on 19 August—read by announcer]

[Text] In the night of 18-19 August 1991, a coup d'etat took place in the Soviet Union. USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has been dismissed from his post, power has been assumed by an unconstitutionally formed State Committee for the State of Emergency, and a state of emergency is being proclaimed.

The Supreme Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia have announced that they regard the State Committee for the State of Emergency as an illegal formation which has no authority or power in the territory of the Republic of Latvia. Laying down of a state of emergency in the territory of the Republic of Latvia, in conformity with the law, is possible only with an agreement of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia or its Presidium.

The Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia regards the situation in Latvia as completely peaceful and believes there are no grounds for proclaiming a state of emergency.

The Supreme Council, the Council of Ministers, and the self-governments of the Republic of Latvia are controlling the situation in the Republic and are continuing their work. If any external forces hamper them and attempt to deliver power to any illegal formations, the Supreme Council and the Council of Ministers appeal to the inhabitants of Latvia to preserve peace and public order by not collaborating with any illegal formations of power, to join in a nonviolent civic insubordination campaign, and to demand the restoration of the activity of the legal power, the councils of people's deputies and their executive institutions.

The only source of legal power in Latvia is the people of Latvia themselves and their democractically elected Supreme Council, the government formed by it, and the local self-governments.

The Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia appeals to the parliaments, governments, and international organizations of the entire world to do everything possible to prevent the halt of the activity of the democratically elected institutions, and to end the violence in the Republic of Latvia.

Supreme Council Convenes 20 Aug

LD2008091891 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0800 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] The Latvian Supreme Council's deputies started to work this morning in their regular plenary session, which opened an hour ago. The Supreme Council stated that, regardless of the strange situation, it will continue its work. This morning deputies discussed proposals of opposition factions, which, according to Mr. Stepicevs [prominent majority Supreme Council member] were introduced simply to waste time.

Deputies Demand Peoples Deputies Congress Session

LD1908135491 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1200 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] A group of USSR deputies from Latvia has sent a telegram to USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Lukyanov saying: In connection with the deposing of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, and the declaration of a state of emergency in the Soviet Union, carried out by an illegal organ, we demand the immediate convening of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

The telegram is signed by USSR people's deputies from Latvia: Skulme, Avotins, Bisers, Bresis, Bojars, Gorbunovs, (?Dansbergs), Zakis, Kalnins, Geiba, Kukaine, Plotnieks, Cirulis, Cepanis, Tolpezhnikov, and Vulfsons. The other USSR people's deputies from Latvia are being asked to send telegrams stating their views to USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Lukyanov.

Riga People's Front Calls For General Strike

LD1908201791 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Riga—Now is not the time to set up barricades on the streets. This thought of the chairman of the People's Front of Latvia was supported at the evening session by the majority faction in the Latvian Supreme Council. The Armed Forces are now ranged against the people and we are not yet ready to oppose them, stated Andris Rastins, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Latvia, on the instructions of the faction. Nonviolent resistance is the only thing that can help our people to stand up to the occupation authorities.

For this reason, if the plenary session does not start tomorrow at 1000 in the morning and the People's Front of Latvia faction does not take part in it or if there are no reports about the work of the Supreme Council, the People's Front of Latvia faction advises all inhabitants of Latvia to begin a general strike tomorrow, 20 August. No one must collaborate with the occupation regime.

TV Reports 'Calm'; Communists Approve Takeover

LD1908210191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Video report from Riga by correspondent N. Kasyanova; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Alfreds Petrovich Rubiks, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia and member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, told a news conference for Latvian and foreign journalists and correspondents of Union publications this morning that Latvia is one of the six regions where the state of emergency is being introduced. All power is being transferred to the emergency committee being formed by Colonel General Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District.

The capital of Latvia remains calm, and on the surface it is as though nothing has changed. Shops and enterprises are working. Latvian Radio is carrying a live relay of plenary sessions of the Supreme Soviet and has broadcast an appeal from the People's Front to the inhabitants of the Republic, which describes what has happened as an unconstitutional coup and calls on the population to show nonviolent, civil disobedience. Entry into the city is being controlled by military checkpoints, and selective

checks are being made on vehicles. The bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia and the bureau of the Riga City Party Committee have issued a statement, which, I quote, considers that the measures taken by the country's leadership to avert the collapse of the USSR and to extricate it from the crisis are constitutional and extremely necessary. [Video shows rainswept Riga cityscapes, including four soldiers atop an APC in the central reservation of a road, cars lining in front of an APC parked across a road]

Helicopter Drops Leaflets Calling for Obedience

LD2008122191 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian 1030 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Leaflets are now being dropped by helicopter carrying an appeal for immediate obedience to the USSR State Committee for the State of Emergency. The appeal is signed by the Ravnopraviye [Russian-speaking opposition] faction, the Latvian Communist Party, and the United Council of Labor Collectives.

Sergejs Dimanis [Ravnopraviye leader], after learning about what has happened, has denied taking part in this appeal. He stressed that he signed nothing of the sort.

Baltic Commander Denies 'New Ruling Bodies'

OW2008132491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1255 GMT 20 Aug 91

[From "Express Edition No. 2"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking over the telephone with the deputy representative of Latvia in Moscow Andreis Eizans, the commander of the Baltic Military District, Colonel General Fedor Kuzmin denied a report of the "VREMYA" TV news program that he is engaged in forming new ruling bodies in the Baltics.

F. Kuzmin pointed out that he fulfils the duties of the Baltic Military District's commander.

Soviet-Latvian Talks 'Unlikely' Before Sep

OW1508115191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1055 GMT 15 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Latvian Deputy Prime Minister, Ilmars Bishers, stated in an interview with the Republic's press that the Soviet side had not yet responded to the telegramme he sent last week to the head of the Soviet negotiating team, USSR vice premier, Vladimir Velichko. In the telegramme the Latvian side raised the question of the resumption of consultations between the Soviet and Latvian delegations.

Mr. Bishers said that, because of the signing of the Union Treaty, a meeting between the two delegations was unlikely to occur before this September.

As "BALTFAX" reported earlier, the previous (second) round of talks between the USSR and Latvia took place on June 6th-7th in Jurmala.

Lithuania

Soviet Forces Attack Border Control Posts

LD2008131191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1100 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] At about 1300 [1100 GMT] a report came in from Klaipeda which says that the prefabricated hut belonging to the Panemune border control post was dragged away on the Kaliningrad side. At the same time, a bus full of paratroopers passed from the direction of Kaliningrad toward Silute.

Colonel Sokolenko visited the Plunge commandant's office and ordered the illegal formations to leave. He jeered at them, saying that otherwise there will be bloodshed.

The Kybartai border control post has been occupied by the Soviet armed forces and destroyed.

Marines have been brought in to Klaipeda from Kaliningrad. According to available information, a split has taken place within the military ranks in Klaipeda. According to unconfirmed reports, the Silute communications unit has been taken over.

Light Tanks, Soldiers Reported Near Vilnius

LD1908182191

[Editorial Report] At 1730 GMT on 19 August, an unidentified radio station broadcasting in Lithuanian on 1557 kHz reports: "Reports have just come in that about 100 light tanks and about 100 soldiers with bullet-proof vests are stationed about 10 km from Vilnius. The servicemen are obviously waiting for further instructions."

Treaty With RSFSR Ratified; Tanks Close In

LD1908214491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2126 GMT 19 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius, 19 Aug (TASS)—Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania have unanimously adopted a decision to ratify the treaty on cooperation between Lithuania and the Russian Federation.

"Radio Independent Lithuania" has broadcast a report that a column of tanks is moving from the west of the Lithuanian capital toward the city center, where the parliament is located. Speaking on the radio, Ceslovas Stankevicius, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania, reported that at the session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, which is continuing its work, deputies are discussing the situation that has come about.

Blockade of Sea, Land, Air Borders Mounted

OW2008012191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2320 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of Lithuania's parliament Vytautas Landsbergis said over the republican radio that "Lithuanian residents would not cooperate with the puppet authorities if they are installed in the Republic."

Landsbergis made an appeal to "the peoples of the world and the governments of free countries, the UN and other international agencies" to help the legitimate republican authorities.

The Lithuanian Government declared that it would be in control "unless force is used to prevent them from discharging their responsibilities."

BF [BALTFAX] reports from Vilnius that independent Lithuanian TV has gone off the air, and only a small private radio station continues broadcasting. A telephone and telegraph stations were occupied in Kaunas, Lithuania's second-largest city.

A blockade is mounted of the sea, land and air borders of Lithuania; movement of troops has been observed throughout the Republic. A military command spokesman said in Klapieda that "the port will be off-limits to foreign vessels."

Communication Facilities Attacked, Occupied

Vilnius Telephone Exchange Occupied

LD2008133591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1110 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] We have already reported that at about 1600 on 19 August, the republican intercity telephone exchange on Savanoriu Avenue in Vilnius was taken by over by Soviet troops.

At 1100 on 20 August, soldiers dressed in camouflage uniforms still were in control of the exchange. Although the telephone link with abroad was not disconnected, operators who arrived for work were told to stay in the foyer of the telephone exchange. They were not allowed into the switchboard area. Telephone links with the Soviet Union are operating normally, and the quartz system is operating.

International Communications Seized

OW1908164691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1545 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Baltfax learned at the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet that air-assault troops had occupied the international telegraph and telephone facilities in Vilnius at 16:00, local time.

Military commandants have been assigned to the cities of Klaipeda, Kaunas and Kedainyae and there are soldiers and military equipment in the streets, says the Lithuanian parliament. The military unit in the North Town (a military base in the Vilnius area) had been placed on heightened alert.

Kaunas Communications Occupied

OW1908232591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1715 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] BF's [BALTFAX] correspondent reports from Kaunas that the military have seized the central telegraph and telephone building in that Lithuanian city.

Kaunas TV Center Seized

LD2008034891

[Editorial Report] At 0100 GMT on 20 August an unidentified radio station broadcasting in Lithuanian on 1557 Khz reports: "The army of the occupier has proceeded to seize Lithuania's radio and television facilities one after the other. These include the main radio transmitters at Sitkunai, near Kaunas, and the main television studio in Kaunas.

"In Vilnius, among other facilities, the Army once again seized the international telephone center. However, they did not cut off communications."

'Mayak' Broadcasting on Vilnius Frequencies

OW2008092891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 0906 GMT 20 Aug 91

[From "Express News No. 1"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] BF's [BALTFAX's] correspondent reports from Vilnius that the radio station "Mayak" is broadcasting its programs on the Vilnius Radio's frequencies.

Government Denies Reports of Armed Resistance

OW2008093691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 0906 GMT 20 Aug 91

[From "Express News No.1"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Lithuanian Government has issued a statement drawing attention to the reports of the TASS news agency and the "Vremya" TV news program which accused the Lithuanian authorities of organizing armed resistance to actions of the military.

The Lithuanian Government says these reports do not correspond with the reality and pursue provocative aims. It once again urges the Lithuanian population to remain calm and orderly.

"It is impossible to stop Lithuania on its peaceful way to freedom", the Lithuanian Government points out.

Vagnorius: Republican Authorities in Control

OW1908203691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1643 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius stated in Vilnius that "so far the republican authorities have been controlling the situation in the Republic, except in places occupied by the military".

Mr. Vagnorius expressed confidence that Lithuanian citizens will obey orders of the Lithuanian leadership "as long as it is in power". In his words, "the government and local authorities of Lithuania will perform their functions up to an end".

Government Issues Decree on State of Emergency

LD1908183491

[Editorial report] At 1430 GMT on 19 August, an unidentified radio station broadcasting in Lithuanian on 1557 Khz is heard to broadcast a "decree of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, regarding Lithuanian Government Action Under a State of Emergency."

"In connection with the 19 August 1991 statement by the Soviet leadership regarding the declaration of a state of emergency and of a possible [word indistinct] in the Republic of Lithuania, the Government of the Republic of Lithuania resolves and declares:

"The Government of the Republic of Lithuania shall not interrupt its activity if it is not to be deprived by force of the opportunity to carry out its tasks.

"In the event that the Government of the Republic of Lithuania is not able to carry out its functions, because of aggression or other external forces, the republican ministries and departments and other government services will stop functioning. The rayon municipal administrations will cease their activity, basing themselves upon the Republic's laws, until the issue of a separate decree by the lawful Supreme Council or lawful Government of Lithuania.

"In accordance with the decree of the local municipal government of the Republic of Lithuania, which tasks all city and rayon councils to carry out the decisions of the government of Lithuania, this is compulsory for all officials."

The decree is signed by Gediminas Vagnorius, prime minister of the Republic.

Supreme Council Backs Yeltsin Call for Strike

AU2008094391 Paris AFP in English 0917 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 20 (AFP)—The Lithuanian parliament, meeting in emergency session since Monday's ouster of Mikhail Gorbachev, urged Soviet troops in the Republic against taking part in Moscow's "crime" and backed a general strike called in Russia.

Lihtuanian journalists contacted by telephone in Vilnius, said the appeal Tuesday came after some 80 Army vehicles had surrounded parliament for several hours overnight before retreating to the north of the city.

The deputies urged soldiers stationed in Lithuania "not to participate in the crime currently organized by Moscow," after Communist party hardliners ousted president Mikhail Gorbachev.

They also backed the call for a general strike launched Monday by Russian President Boris Yeltsin by urging the organization of political meetings in all the Republic's factories Tuesday "to support Russia."

The Soviet Army vehicles, including tanks and armored personnel carriers, conducted maneuvers on roads and bridges outside the parliament building and in a tunnel running overnight as parliament met inside, according to a Lithuanian Government spokeswoman contacted by telephone.

Several thousand demonstrations had gathered outside the building overnight. A few hundred remained by Tuesday morning, as the situation appeared calm elsewhere in the city.

Oblast Legislatures Declare Support for Yeltsin

LD2008093691

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian at 0808 GMT on 20 August reports from the parliamentary studio in Vilnius that half an hour ago, a briefing took place in the Supreme Council. Reporter A. Usas notes that the spokesman said that "at 0900 this morning he spoke on the phone with Lionginas Vasiliauskas, media representative of the Lithuanian Government in Moscow. He reported that Kamchatka, Magadan, Sakhalin, Volgograd, Smolensk, Kirov, and Chelyabinsk Oblast deputies adopted decisions to support the legal Russian government and President Boris Yeltsin. He is also supporrted by the Leningrad, Moscow, Petrozavodsk, and Novgorod city councils." The reporter also states that "(?the organizers of the coup are officially supported by the Lipetsk oblast council)."

Landsbergis Confident 'Coup Will Fail'

OW1908233991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1643 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a press-conference after a meeting of the Lithuanian Interim Defense Committee, Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council Vytautas Landsbergis called the State of Emergency Committee "a government of hunger possibly incapable of using power it has seized".

Mr. Landsbergis expressed confidence that "the coup will fail". "However, there may be casualties", he pointed out.

Mr. Landsbergis said that military vessels had appeared near the Klaipeda port. The sea, land and air borders are being blocked. According to the Lithuanian leader, a spokesman for the military command in Klaipeda said that "foreign ships will not be allowed to enter the port."

Landsbergis Appeals to World Democracies

LD2008041591

[Editorial Report] At 0150 GMT on 20 August an unidentified radio station broadcasting in Lithuanian on 1557 Khz is heard to carry the following statement, read by the announcer in Russian:

"Appeal of the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic to the parliaments and governments of the democratic countries of the world:

"By the act of 11 March 1990 Lithuania, by the will of its democratically elected representatives of the people, proclaimed the restoration of the statehood of the Lithuanian Republic, occupied and annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940, and its return to the family of the world's free states. This was also confirmed by the plebiscite of 9 February 1991.

"For one and one-half years now, the Supreme Soviet and the government of the Lithuanian Republic have been making efforts aimed at consolidating independence through peaceful parliamentary means in international talks.

"Trying to attain solidarity and support from the democratic states of the world, the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic has repeatedly appealed to their parliaments and governments, hoping for a more decisive international recognition and the renewal of diplomatic relations.

"The major political interests of the states of the world [passage indistinct] have resulted in the fact that the Lithuanian Republic did not receive the appropriate diplomatic recognition which would ensure its protection.

"The coup in the Soviet Union which started on 19 August 1991, and the aggression being unleashed against Lithuania, threaten the Lithuanian Republic (?with new suffering) and bloodshed (?among the people). We are waiting for your urgent decisions—the full official recognition of the government of the Lithuanian Republic and the renewal or establishment of diplomatic relations with the Lithuanian Republic.

"We are requesting those countries which are members of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to apply the measures envisaged by the Paris Charter (?for quickly) resolving conflicts, and to send to Lithuania (?a mission to report).

"(?The time has come) when your resolute, concerted actions will protect the lives of people, Lithuania's statehood, and democracy in Europe and the world.

" [Signed] Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic Vytautas Landsbergis.

" [Dated] Vilnius, 19 August 1991."

Official Says Government Plans No 'Surrender'

LD1908230691 Warsaw PAP in English 2016 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 19—"This is a normal coup d'etat, externally even resembling the overthrow of Khrushchev. The Lithuanian Government and parliament will not surrender," Dainius Junevicius from the Lithuanian Information Office in Poland told PAP Monday afternoon.

"Two hours ago, I established contact with Vilnius: an order to disarm the Lithuanian department of national protection came from the military staff of the Baltic region in Riga. We will not carry out this order," he said.

Dainius Junevicius said that should military dictatorship be introduced, the Lithuanian Government would try to avoid victims.

"A state of emergency in the Baltic republics will cause military commanders to take over power and we are afraid of this most as they will be able to oust legally elected authorities. We are also afraid of an attempt to form a puppet government. Speaking on the radio Monday morning, President Landsbergis rejected any form of cooperation with such a government," Junevicius said.

Officials, Citizens Summoned to Council Building

LD1908154891

[Editorial Report] At 1300 GMT on 19 August, an unidentified radio station broadcasting in Lithuanian on 1557 kHz is heard to carry the following announcer-read appeal:

"Attention! Lithuanian Supreme Council deputies, Supreme Council Presidium members, and provisional defense administration members are urgently asked to come to the Supreme Council building. We also appeal to Lithuanian residents to assemble near the parliament building."

General Procuracy Statement on 'Overthrow'

LD2008082191

[Editorial Report] At 0145 GMT on 20 August, an unidentified Lithuanian radio station broadcasting in Lithuanian and believed to be operating from the parliamentary studio in Vilnius carries a three-minute statement by the General Procuracy of the Republic of Lithuania.

The statement reads: "The Soviet Union reactionary forces have carried out an unconstitutional overthrow of the state. Attempts are being made to stop the development of the democratic processes not only within the disintegrating empire, but also in the independent Baltic states, through the use of repressive organs. The scenario of the tragic night of 13 January is being repeated once again.

"The Republic administrative and local bodies, as well as law and order organs, are receiving documents in which announcements proclaim the intentions of the Soviet Union's military authority institutions to maintain the order desired by the putchists. For instance, the commandant of Klaipeda Garrison, which is already under a state of emergency, demands the transfer of authority from the municipal government and bodies of law and order to the self-proclaimed military-civilian committee.

"The General Procuracy declares that the actions by which an attempt is being made to overthrow the state government and to violate the sovereignty of the state of Lithuania are criminal actions.

"Cooperation with the officials of the occupation government, who are seeking to harm Lithuanian state interests, is also criminal. The collegium of the Lithuanian Procuracy, at a meeting on 19 August, which was chaired by General Procurator Paulauskas, has tasked the senior city and rayon procurators, along with all the other law and order organs, to organize their work commensurate with the emergency conditions.

"Emphasis was also placed on the fact that the functioning of the procurator's office can only be terminated by the use of brutal force."

Further Reportage on Yeltsin Reaction to Coup

Failed To Contact Gorbachev

OW1908103691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0930 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking at a Moscow news conference on Monday the Russian President Boris Yeltsin declared that the Ukraine and some other republics which he managed to contact share the opinion of the Russian leadership about the developments in the country. According to Yeltsin, he failed to contact Gorbachev. All means of communication, the Russian President declared, are controlled by "the putschists". He also said that in response to Order Number One announced on radio today the Russian President is going to issue a decree on disobedience to the order. The Russian government, Yeltsin said, will continue its work.

The news conference was also attended by Prime-Minister Ivan Silayev and Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy.

Gorbachev Whereabouts Unknown

LD1908150691 Tehran IRNA in English 1437 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug. 19, IRNA—President of the Russian Republic Boris Yeltsin said in a first reaction to Mikhail Gorbachev's dismissal from office Monday that the new leaders of the Soviet Union were pushing the country to anarchy. He said he would remain in office unless ousted by the people of the Soviet Union. Yeltsin noted that the new government in the Soviet Union had drawn the attention of the news media. He added that he did not know anything on the whereabouts of dismissed President Mikhail Gorbachev. Army trucks and armoured vehicles are taking position in the city streets in Moscow, and columns of soldiers were seen marching towards the Kremlin around noon Monday slowing the normal traffic in the main streets. Gennadiy Yanayev is now acting Soviet head of state.

'Negative' on Emergency Measures

LD1908154391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1528 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 19 August (TASS)—Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] has received the emergency measures of the Soviet leadership to introduce order in the country in a negative way. An appeal signed by the leaders of Russia was circulated at a press conference held on Monday. Among other things it calls the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR "illegal."

The leaders of the RSFSR have demanded that an emergency congress of USSR People's Deputies be convened, and called for an "indefinite general strike."

Takes Over All Power in Russia

OW1908182791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1754 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian federation issued a decree whereby all executive bodies of the USSR, including the KGB, the interior and defense ministries of the USSR, which function in the territory of the Russian Federation (RSFSR) are to be transferred under the direct authority of the Russian president.

Mr. Yeltsin ordered the Russian KGB, the interior ministry and Russia's state defense committee to temporarily fulfil the functions of the said government bodies of the USSR in the Russian territory.

All territorial and other organs of the KGB, the interior and defense ministries in the territory of the RSFSR are from now on to execute decisions by the Russian authorities.

"Officials executing decisions by the unconstitutional state of emergency committee will be relieved of their duties and prosecuted according to law", Mr Yeltsin's decree says.

Yeltsin Decree on Constitutional Order

LD2008055191

[Editorial Report] At 0330 GMT on 20 August an unidentified radio station broadcasting in Lithuanian on 1557 kHz is heard to carry the following decree, read by the announcer in Russian:

"Decree by the president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]:

"In carrying out a coup d'etat and removing (?the responsible person) from the post of USSR president, USSR Vice President Yanayev, the supreme commander of the USSR Armed Forces, USSR Prime Minister, USSR KGB Chairman Kryuchkov, USSR Internal Affairs Minister Pugo, USSR Defense Minister Yazov, Chairman of the Peasants' Union Starodubtsov, First Deputy Chairman of the State Committee for Defense Baklanov, President of the Association of Industry, Construction, and Communications Tizyakov, and their accomplices have perpetrated a most grave state crime, violating Article 62 of the USSR Constitution, Articles 64, 69, 70 , (?71), and 72 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and the correponding articles of the foundations of criminal legislation of the USSR and the Union republics.

"By betraying the people and the Constitution, they put themselves outside the law. And on the basis of what has been set out above I resolve:

"Staff members of the bodies of the Procuracy, of state security, internal affairs of the USSR and the RSFSR; military servicemen realizing their responsibility for the

destinies of the people and the state and not wishing the onset of dictatorship, civil war, and bloodshed, are given the right to act on the basis of the Constitution and laws of the USSR and the RSFSR. As president of Russia, on behalf and [word indistinct] its people, I guarantee you legal protection and moral support. The destiny of Russia and the Union lies in your hands.

"[Signed] President of the RSFSR Boris Yeltsin. Kremlin, Moscow. 19 August 1991.

Appeals to Russian Servicemen

OW2008070091 Vladivostok Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Decree of the RSFSR President; from the "Lunch Hour Break" program, citing the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY]

[Text] Appeal of the President of Russia to soldiers and officers of the Armed Forces of the USSR, the KGB of the USSR, and the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] of the USSR:

The President of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], Boris Yeltsin, has made an appeal to the soldiers and officers of the Armed Forces of the USSR, the KGB of the USSR, and the MVD of the USSR.

Servicemen and Countrymen: An attempt has been made to overthrow the state. The president of the USSR, who is the commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the USSR, has been removed from office. The vice president of the USSR, the prime minister, the chairman of the KGB of the USSR, the ministers of defense and internal affairs of the USSR have joined in an unconstitutional body, thereby committing state treason, a most grave state crime.

The country found itself before the threat of terror. Order, which the newly baked saviors of the fatherland promise us, will turn into a tragedy of suppression of dissent through concentration camps and arrests at night. A better life will remain a propaganda fraud.

Soldiers and officers of Russia, at this tragic moment for Russia and the entire country, I appeal to you: Do not allow yourselves to be caught up in the web of lies, promises, and demagogic arguments about military duty. Do not become blind weapons of the criminal will of a group of adventurists who have trampled the constitution and laws of the USSR.

Soldiers, I appeal to you: Think about your near ones, your friends, and your people. At the difficult moment when you must choose, do not forget that you gave an oath of loyalty to the people, that attempts are being made to turn your weapons against the people. You can build a throne of bayonets, but you could not sit on it for very long. There is no return to the past nor will there be. The days of the conspirators are numbered.

Soldiers, officers, and generals: An hour ago I appointed the chairman of the RSFSR Committee for Defense Issues. Your comrade in arms, Colonel General Kobets, has filled this post. A decree has been issued in accordance with which all territorial and other organs of the MVD, the KGB, and the Ministry of Defense on the territory of the RSFSR are obliged to immediately fulfill all instructions of the President of the RSFSR, the KGB of the RSFSR, the MVD of the RSFSR, and the State Committee of the RSFSR for Defense Issues.

Clouds of terror and dictatorship have thickened over Russia and the entire country. However, they cannot turn into eternal night. The law will triumph in our land and our long-suffering people will once again acquire their freedom, this time once and forever.

Soldiers, I believe that at this tragic hour you will be able to make the right choice. The honor and glory of Russian arms will not be stained with the blood of the people.

[Signed] Boris Yeltsin, President of the Russian Federation; 1710 hours [1410 GMT].

Appeals to Patriarch Aleksiy II

OW2008052691 Vladivostok Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 20 Aug 91

[RSFSR President's Appeal to the Patriarch of Russia; from the "Lunch Hour Break" program]

[Text] Appeal of the President of Russia to the Patriarch of All Russia.

Your Holiness, the tragic events of the past night compel me to appeal to you, and through you to all believers of Russia. A great and scandalous lawlessness has occurred. A group of highly placed corrupt bureaucrats has carried out an unconstitutional overthrow of the state. The lawfully elected president of the USSR has been dismissed. In essence, a state of emergency has been declared in the whole of the country. The Constitution and laws of the USSR and the Constitutions and laws of sovereign republics of the Union have been rudely trampled.

It is not coincidental that all this has happened specifically on the eve of the signing of the new Union treaty, which opens a realistic way out of the crisis, and which offers a way of freedom, democracy, and progress. Not only has our statehood and our emerging democracy been trampled, but also our civic freedom of choice. The shadow of lawlessness and tyranny again hangs over our country.

In this tragic moment for our fatherland, we call upon you to use your authority among all religions and believers, as well as the influence of the church, to not be bystanders to what is happening; it is directly connected with the task to which you, your holiness, have devoted all of your life: serving the people and caring for their hearts and souls. The church, which has suffered in the years of totalitarianism, could again experience the

burden of tyranny and lawlessness. Believers, all Russian people, the whole of Russia awaits your words.

[Signed] Boris Yeltsin.

Shakhray Warns of Threat of Yeltsin's Arrest

OW2008101391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0944 GMT 20 Aug 91

[From "Express Edition No. 2"; item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of the legislation committee of the Russian parliament, Mr. Sergey Shakhray, said Tuesday morning at a meeting with Russian People's Deputies that he had received "unconfirmed reports of a decision to relieve president of the Russian federation, Mr. Boris Yeltsin, and the state defense committee chairman, Mr. Konstantin Kobets, of their duties and to initiate legal proceedings against them".

According to the state secretary of the Russian federation, Mr. Gennadiy Burbulis, People's Deputies Telman Gdlian (of the USSR) and Vladimir Komchatov (of the Russian parliament) were detained during the night. The information was later confirmed by a number of other deputies. It was pointed out that nothing had been heard from several more People's Deputies, and Russian MPs do not rule out that some of them may be detained.

Demands Meetings With Gorbachev

OW2008092691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0906 GMT 20 Aug 91

[From "Express Edition No. 1"; item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leaders of the parliament and Government of the Russian Federation have demanded that the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Anatoliy Lukyanov, arrange for them a meeting with President Mikhail Gorbachev in the presence of Gennadiy Yanayev within the next 24 hours. In their message to Lukyanov, sent off this morning, they also demand:

That a medical examination of Mikhail Gorbachev be carried out with the assistance of experts from WHO (at the expense of the Russian Government);

That the results of the examination be published. If they are favourable, Gorbachev must imediately be enabled to carry out his duties as President of the USSR;

That the restrictions on the functioning of the Russian mass media be lifted;

That the state of emergency on the territory of the Russian Federation be lifted;

That the troops be withdrawn;

That the State Emergency Committee be disbanded.

'Little Support' for Strike Call

AU2008102391 Paris AFP in English 1002 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 20 (AFP)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin's general strike call against the new Soviet regime won little support on Tuesday although coal miners had stopped work in three republics, a Russian official said.

Soviet workers were not used to such calls and confusion was widespread, said Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the Russian parliament's Foreign Affairs Commission.

But miners in Russia, Ukraine and Belorussia had joined the strike, he confirmed.

Printers at the daily newspaper IZVESTIYA, which has not toed the government line, also downed tools, Lukin said.

Military Continues Control of Moscow

Commandant: No Change in Order

OW1908105291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0930 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] IF's [INTERFAX] reporter was informed by the office of the Moscow military commandant that no orders have been received on changing its functioning order. It was also said that today such an order is not expected.

Telegraph Lines Reported Cut

OW1908154991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1527 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moscow's central telegraph has been put under under the control of platoon of soldiers from the Taman division. The news was told to the INTERFAX correspondent by Aleksandr A. Bogolyubov, who drove there on Monday. According to Bogolyubov, the soldiers are not armed, but the officers have pistols charged with live ammunition. The officers told the Moscow Soviet deputy that they are acting on orders from the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Bogolyubov told our correspondent that as of 14:00 on August 19, all inter-city and international lines have been cut.

Supreme Soviet Building Guarded by OMON

OW1908155691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1527 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Three cars belonging to the RSFSR's Ministry of Internal Affairs OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] which had been standing near Russia's Supreme Soviet, drove into the interior courtyard of the

building in order to protect it, INTERFAX's correspondent reports. Soon thereafter, the entrance to the interior coutyard was closed off by a barricade of garbage bins, stretches of wood and metal fencing, scrap metal and stones. The republican guardsmen told our correspondent, however, that they had no information about any plans on the part of the Soviet Army to take the building by storm.

Deputy Mayor Calls for Strike

OW1908160791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1527 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday, Yuriy Luzhkov, carrying out the functions of the Mayor of Moscow, urged the city's population—its workers, pensioners, servicemen and law enforcement officers—to start an indefinite strike. He endorsed the statement made by Russia's president, Boris Yeltsin, which termed the State Committee for the State of Emergency (GKChP) an illegal organization. Luzhkov also said that none of the orders or decrees issued by GKChP would be carried on out Moscow's territory.

Luzhkov said he regards the recent events as an attempt to "roll back any democratic changes and put the country under the rule of reactionary forces for a long time."

He expressed the belief that "solidarity and decisiveness of the part of the Muscovites and the citizens of Russia, as well as conscientiousness and patriotism among men of the armed forces will prevent these designs against the people from succeeding."

Demonstrators Confront Tanks

OW1908160691 Tokyo KYODO in English 1539 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Moscow, Aug. 19 KYODO—Turbulence swept through the city of Moscow on Monday morning as angry citizens protested against the newly-formed "State of Emergency Committee" of hardliners by confronting several dozens of tanks and armored personnel carriers.

Skirmishes between troops and citizens at several points in the city are creating tension and hostility, sparking speculation that bloodshed could be forthcoming.

"This is an unconstitutional coup. What will be the future of our country?" Cried a furious middle-aged woman on a street near red square adjacent to the Kremlin.

Thousands of citizens took to the streets in the vicinity of the Kremlin and the Russian Republic's Supreme Soviet building where republic President Boris Yeltsin issued a statement calling on the whole nation to go on a general strike to protest against the overthrow of President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The TASS official news agency reported in its early morning dispatch that Vice President Gennadiy Yanayev had taken over as president and all state powers had been transferred to the eight- member State of Emergency Committee for a period of at least six months. [passage omitted]

In its first decree, the committee ordered all 15 republics and all agencies of administrations to fully implement the committee's instructions.

It pledged a strict clampdown on the press which might dare to carry critical opinions or articles about the newly-formed regime, while ordering citizens to surrender all types of firearms, explosives and military equipment in their possession.

It banned rallies, street marches, demonstrations and strikes, while vowing to enforce these new regulations with such measures as "curfews, patrolling the territory and enhancing the border and customs control."

However, these measures have so far apparently failed to quash either popular dissent or the people's desire for freedom and civil rights.

Defying tanks positioned outside the Russian Republic's Supreme Soviet building, citizens started erecting barricades partly by toppling buses, and blockaded the front entrance to the building, in which yeltsin and other republic leaders are gathered.

The KYODO correspondent said the number of Moscovites surrounding the building in the attempt to protect the republic's leadership increased as time went on.

Alerted by the likelihood of an assault by troops, the Defense Council of the republic's Supreme Soviet armed senior government officials with automatic rifles and guns for self-defense, according to sources close to the republic government.

The tanks now outside the building first started to encircle it shortly after noon, when Yeltsin issued a presidential decree before some 100 correspondents declaring the establishment of the State of Emergency Committee a contravention of the Soviet Constitution.

More than 100 citizens immediately surrounded the tanks and a man shouted to soldiers, "What are you up to? Are you going to arrest Yeltsin?"

At that moment, Yeltsin appeared at the front entrance to the cheers of citizens, surrounded by bodyguards and parliamentarians, and climbed onto a tank and delivered a speech addressed to all the republic's citizens.

At the news conference, Yeltsin disclosed he had tried in vain to contact Gorbachev, who was taken unawares by the coup while vacationing at a villa in the Crimea with his grandchildren.

Yeltsin told reporters Gorbachev might well have been placed under house arrest at the villa.

Moscow Soviet Condemns Committee

OW1908214691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1404 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The presidium of the Moscow City Council is drafting a statement in connection with the forming of the State-of-Emergency Committee [SEC]. Its member Gaik Zulumyan told IF [INTERFAX] that the statement will denounce the forming of the SEC and proclaim its actions as illegal.

The statement is to be adopted after 19:00 today.

The presidium session was attended by Colonel Shtokolov, commandant of Moscow, and by an official from the Moscow department of the KGB. The commandant declared that his office is concerned solely about the ways to keep servicemen under control.

Contacts with the military will be maintained by the city council's commission on military affairs led by Yuriy Shurygin. According to Gaik Zulumyan, at Monday's session of the Moscow City Council the Acting Mayor Yuri Luzhkov declared that he views the activity of the SEC as illegal. All municipal services, Luzhkov said, will continue to perform their functions.

The Moscow City Council intended to gather the heads of district councils for a meeting at 15:00 to discuss the ways to coordinate their actions under the circumstances.

Report on Situation

OW1908185991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1754 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Traffic along Tverskaya Street in Moscow has been blocked, INTERFAX's correspondent reports from the centre of the Soviet capital. Paratroopers and a column of 25 airborne armoured personnel carriers have been stationed outside the building of the Moscow city Council. Adjacent streets are repotedly crowded by military vehicles too.

On Manezhnaya square, people's deputies of various legislatures were calling on the people to march to the Russian parliament's building to avert what they called an upcoming military action.

Meanwhile, the military lifted the cordoning of the Moscow City Council, the chief of the mayoralty's administration, Mr. Vassiliy Shakhnovskiy said, as a result of an agreement between Moscow's acting mayor, Mr. Yuriy Luzhkov, and Lieutenant-General Zimin, the commander of the cordon.

Mr. Shakhnovksiy said also negotiations were going on about military units' actions in Moscow.

Commandant Says Curfew Possible

LD1908191191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Interview with Colonel General Nikolay Vasilyevich Kalinin, commander of forces in the Moscow Military District and city commandant, by unidentified correspondent; in Moscow on 14 August;—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Nikolay Vasilyevich, in my hands I have the decree imposing a state of emergency in the city of Moscow. Under this decree you are appointed commandant of the city. What does this decree signify and how are the citizens of our capital to conduct themselves under the conditions of the state of emergency?

[Kalinin] Today there is no need for us to impose a curfew, but as for how things develop from here, if the need arises to impose one then such a measure will be taken.

[Correspondent] In other words, the imposition of a curfew is not ruled out, is that right?

[Kalinin] The imposition of a curfew is not ruled out, if—and I repeat this—the situation requires it.

[Correspondent] In the event of any kind of situations of conflict arising, in particular with the military—after all, a very large number of troops have been brought into Moscow—how, simply, I ask again, as it were, are the citizens of the capital to react?

[Kalinin] Well, we are here so that those situations should not arise; on the contrary, to prevent such situations arising among the civil population. As concerns the servicemen's behavior, it is their task to ensure order among all strata of residents of the city of Moscow.

Council Supports Yeltsin, Opposes Strike

OW2008020191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1853 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Member of the Moscow City Council Presidium Gaik Zulumyan told IF [INTERFAX] that the Monday meeting of the Moscow council deputies that was attended by 120 council members supported RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin's appeal "To Russian Citizens" and declared the Emergency State Committee Illegitimate.

The meeting did not support the call for a general strike.

Zuluyan also said that, according to the Moscow City Council, the Moscow Region Council decided to disobey the Emergency State Committee and to support the appeal "To Russian Citizens."

Scene at Parliament Building Described

PM2008093491 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2

[Report by I. Sharov under general heading "Yesterday in the Streets of Moscow": "Six or Nine?"]

[Text] I cannot forget a certain cartoon: Two people are standing opposite each other, and between them there is a number. A six or a nine—depending which way you look at it. And the two are arguing and getting mad: "It's a six," shouts one. "It's a nine," retorts the other. Funny? Not really. It is sad that the wranglers will not look at the figures from the same side...

Those were my thoughts yesterday, when I saw at the "White House," the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet building, an uneasy, agitated mass of people in the grip of a real and, I am sure, in some cases feigned sense of protest prompted by the imposition of a state of emergency in certain localities in the USSR.

I will be frank: The familiar scenario and well-rehearsed production of this not very large rally were transparently obvious.

"Form a chain," someone was telling them in a trained baritone, advising them on the nearest places to flee in the event of an attack by forces obedient to the "putschists."

"Don't talk tripe, we haven't got enough of it to eat, let alone talk"—this outburst came from someone who was obviously a full-time critic of the Union leadership. And so it went on.

I stopped a little longer to listen to a speaker who was undoubtedly endowed with talent as a provocateur. Now loudly, now sotto voce, with a confidential note in his voice, he was calling on people to "crush them" (you know who!) by stopping the plants and factories and ceasing harvesting work. There were objections from the crowd: We have to feed the children, and that means we have to harvest the grain. The orator was deaf to such rejoinders.

I don't know what it looks like to anyone else, but to me the barricades erected for a specific purpose on the approaches to the parliament building look like stage props. Can their "architects" really be counting on the strength of these bastions made of any old construction waste and other rubbish that came to hand? All this was done with the aim of indicating a threat to disperse the rally, with the help of hardware, of course. And so they instilled in advance the idea that you can expect all kinds of things of the new emergency authorities.

It was raining gently. The prudent people with umbrellas continued to stand listening to the speeches. Many left, so that the chain was broken, and then disappeared entirely. But at the end of the working day it became crowded outside the "White House." Now powerful amplifiers were brought into play and the speeches thundered out from the balcony, from official lips now. "Flagrant lawlessness," "coup," "death of democracy," "dictatorship"—that is not the full range of words used to condemn the emergency measures. A message was read out to Aleksiy II, patriarch of all Russia, containing an appeal to the holy church to help overcome the "lawlessness." And at that sad moment the thought and wish became particularly acute: People, please understand that quarreling, strife, and confrontation are now more disastrous than any misfortune; don't light camp fires close to a powder keg!

Situation in Leningrad Reported

City Soviet To Hold Session

OW1908212291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1404 GMT 19 AUG 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Leningrad City Council intends to gather for an emergency session on Monday at 16:00 to discuss the situation in the country. The session is to be held by the Chairman of the City Council Aleksandr Beliayev.

Monday morning spokesmen for the SEC [State Emergency Council] arrived at the Leningrad City Council. They declared that the city council should be dissolved, that it has no right to hold a session and that they intend to stop it. City council members turned the SEC spokesmen out by force.

City council officials are trying to find out where Leningrad's Mayor Sobchak and Deputy Mayor Scherbakov are.

State of Emergency

LD1908175191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Leningrad: The commander of the forces of Leningrad Military District and military commandant of the city, Colonel General Samsonov, has spoken on local television. He said that the threat to the existence of the Soviet state, rampant crime and political speculation in connection with the preparation of the Union treaty have created serious tension in the country, and danger to the tranquillity of the citizens, and to normal conditions for work, rest and everyday life. To guarantee the citizens' safety and insure the normal operation of the economy, transport and public establishments, and also maintaining proper order in the city of Leningrad and the adjoining rayons, from 0400 19 August a state of emergency has been introduced which makes provision for a number of special measures. A provision is made for banning industrial and office worker's resignations and banning strikes.

Deputies Support Yeltsin

LD1908202991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Outwardly things were calm in Leningrad today. Enterprises and public transport were working. The usual lines were forming in the shops. However, the city was alarmed by the information announced on the central TV and radio. In the second half of the day thousands of Leningraders came to the St. Isaac's square, to the Mariinskiy Palace, where the extraordinary session of the city Soviet of People's Deputies was in progress. All speeches were relayed to the square. The decree of the Russian president and the appeal of the republican leadership to Russia's citizens were read out at the session. People's deputies expressed their solidarity with those documents, and called upon Leningraders, the servicemen of the garrison and the employees of the Internal Ministry and KGB to maintain tranquility and order, not to permit any encroachment upon constitutional rights, and to be ready to defend all those best achievements of perestroyka. [video shows panorama of Nevskiy Prospect, line at the Lancome shop on Nevskiy where goods can be bought for rubles, then panorama of St. Isaac's square with a huge crowd of people, and the seat of the city soviet—the Mariinskiy Palace—outside and inside the main chamber, where a woman is distributing sheets with the decree of the Russian president].

Commander Refuses To Move Troops

OW2008064591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0610 GMT 20 Aug 91

["Emergency Edition No.1"—INTERFAX headline; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Addressing an emergency press-conference at the Leningrad City Council on Tuesday night, Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak said there was a need to call emergency congresses of the USSR and Russia as soon as possible.

"If we fail to hold them in Moscow, we will choose another city in the country," said Leningrad mayor. He made one more appeal to the citizens to take part in mass protest actions to prevent the restoration of totalitarianism.

According to Sobchak, the members of the Emergency State Committee "are not widely supported in the military and therefore, are not as strong as they seek to demonstrate." In addition, Sobchak said that executives and employees at major Leningrad enterprises, including the Kirov works, came out in support of the legitimate Russian authorities and are ready to start a political strike Tuesday.

Leningrad vice-mayor told journalists that he had delivered a package of the latest decrees of the Russian president to Leningrad Commander Viktor Samsonov last night and held talks at the headquarters of the Leningard military district.

According to Shcherbakov, [title not received] Monday afternoon Samsonov got an order to have tanks and APC's [armored personnel carrier] moved to downtown Leningrad at midnight sharp but the colonel-general refused to obey the order.

Soviet Declares Decree 'Illegal'

LD2008121391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1131 GMT 20 Aug 91

[By unidentified correspondent]

[Text] Leningrad, 20 Aug (TASS)—An emergency session of the Leningrad Soviet, which opened today, declared all the instructions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] "illegal and not subject to implementation on the territory of the city." The Leningrad Soviet and city Mayor Sobchak backed the Russian leaders' appeal for a general indefinite political strike. Arkadiy Kramarev, head of the internal affairs administration of Leningrad and of the oblast, declared the full support of the staff of internal affairs bodies for the legal government of Russia and the city authorities.

At a meeting held in Leningrad city center today, attended by many thousands of people, city Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak announced that the mayor's office and the Leningrad Soviet are monitoring the situation. "During the night two military columns started to move toward Leningrad. By agreement with the command of Leningrad military district, they changed their direction. There are no other troops in the city apart from the units permanently stationed here," Anatoliy Sobchak affirmed. Representatives of major enterprises in the city, of the Russian Orthodox Curch, writers, and military men expressed their support for Mikhail Gorbachev and demanded he should appear before the people. A resolution adopted contains an appeal to maintain public order and not to give way to provocations and to prevent bloodshed.

Republic Leadership Continues to Condemn Coup

Leaders Call for 'Open-Ended Strike'

LD1908161591 Moscow TASS in English 1541 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin, critical of the Soviet leadership's emergency measures to restore order to the country, called for an open-ended strike in protest.

An address, signed by him and other Russian leaders and read out at a news conference here today, branded the state-of-emergency committee as "illegal."

The Russian leaders urged an emergency federal congress and "a general and open-ended strike."

Presidium Terms Actions 'Coup d'Etat'

OW1908191791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1754 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The acting chairman of the Russian parliament, Mr. Ruslan Khasbulatov, signed a resolution by the Presidium of the legislature on the convocation of an emergency session of the Supreme Soviet.

The resolution states that the emergency session is to be opened at 11 a.m. on August 21. The session's agenda includes an item entitled "On the Political Situation in the USSR in the Wake of a Coup d'Etat".

The Presidium's resolution deems the actions by the State Committee for the State of Emergency (SCSE) as a coup d'etat. The execution of the SCSE's decisions will be considered as "complicity in a conspiracy against the state with all consequences thereof".

Committee Violates Soviet Laws

OW1908214991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1853 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A group of members of the RSFSR Constitutional Compliance Committee discussed the establishment of the Emergency State Committee and enumerated the Soviet laws this act violates.

Their public statement says that neither the Soviet Constitution nor the Soviet law defining the legal aspects of the state of emergency provides for the establishment of an Emergency State Committee, let alone of a national ruling body composed of a deputy chairman of the USSR Defense Council, vice-president and prime-minister.

There were no natural catastrophes, large accidents, epidemics or massive disturbances that, under the law on the legal regime of a state of emergency, may warrant its introduction.

Nor the procedure for introducing the state of emergency has been observed. In fact, a timetable and the area where a state of emergency is declared must be specified, in accordance with the law. The official report does not specify the area under the state of emergency.

The experts believe that the decisions on the state of emergency and the establishment of the Emergency State Committee are legally invalid and must be declared null and void by the USSR Supreme Soviet or the USSR constitutional compliance Committee.

Resolution Terms Emergency 'Unlawful'

OW2008053591 Vladivostok Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic in Moscow on 19 August, as provided by the Russian Information Agency; from the "Lunch Hour Break" program]

[Text] Resolution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers on the Unlawful Introduction of a State of Emergency, 19 August 1991, Moscow:

The RSFSR Council of Ministers, having reviewed the situation that has arisen as a result of the removal from the leadership of the country of the lawfully elected president of the USSR and introduction of a state of emergency on the country's territory, notes the unconstitutional and unlawful nature of these actions and of the establishment of the State Committee for the Emergency Situation in the USSR, and resolves:

1. To support the appeal of the RSFSR leaders to the citizens of Russia, strictly implement the 19 August 1991 Decree No. 59 of the RSFSR president, and invite the councils of ministers of republics within the RSFSR and executive organs of power of autonomous formations, krays, and oblasts to ensure the implementation of this decree;

2. That executive organs of all levels of the RSFSR be guided unswervingly in their activities by the RSFSR legislation in effect on the territory of the RSFSR;

3. To appeal to the governments of all Union republics to unite their efforts in defense and support of constitutional order on the entire territory of the USSR;

4. To appeal to the heads of government of all states of the world, the Security Council, and the United Nations to condemn the actions of the State Committee for the Emergency Situation in the USSR and to not recognize the legality of its powers in the USSR nor its representatives abroad;

5. Adopted unanimously at a meeting of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

[Signed] Ivan Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Government Demands To See Gorbachev

LD2008095891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0808 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] According to the information available to Ceslovas Vasiliauskas, permanent media representative of the government in Moscow, Boris Yeltsin and the leaders of Russia are preparing a statement asking permisssion for the leaders of Russia to meet USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and [words indistinct]. If it turns out that he is ill, the government of Russia is

prepared to pay foreign experts and doctors who to assess the health of the president and prescribe treatment.

Rutskoy on Gorbachev's Health

OW2008122191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1156 GMT 20 Aug 91

[From "Express Edition No. 5"; item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Aleksandr Rutskoy, Vice President of the Russian Federation, has said that, according to the information he has had, "there is nothing dangerous about Mikhail Gorbachev's health". His blood pressure has slightly gone up and he has had an attack of radiculitis.

Rutskoy had a meeting with journalists after speaking at a rally in front of the Supreme Soviet of Russia this afternoon. According to some reports, the rally included up to a million people.

At the rally, Rutskoy said that he, Ivan Silayev and Ruslan Khasbulatov met the Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Anatoliy Lukyanov, this morning and passed to him a message from the political leadership of the Russian Federation demanding a meeting with Gorbachev within 24 hours.

Rutskoy said that Lukyanov had given no answer to the question why Gorbachev had not issued a decree transferring his powers to the Vice President and the relevant bodies, a decree which is a requirement under the Soviet legislation. According to Rutskoy, Lukyanov said he "had been on holiday and came back to Moscow on the evening of August 18".

The Russian Vice President also said that as a lawyer Lukyanov admitted that Decree No.1 of the State Emergency Committee contradicted Soviet laws.

According to Rutskoy, Lukyanov assured the Russian leaders that he would give this appraisal of the decree at the meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet today.

Lukyanov also promised to pass the Russian leaders' message to Gennadiy Yanayev.

Rutskoy Appeals to Soldiers

LD2008060991

[Editorial Report] At 0400 GMT on 20 August an unidentified radio station broadcasting in Lithuanian on 1557 Khz is heard to carry the following statement, read by the announcer in Russian: "Comrade friends! An attempt is being made in the country to carry out a coup, with a view to establishing a dictatorship [words indistinct].

"The state figures responsible for the situation in the country [words indistinct] who will inevitably have to answer to the people, head unconstitutional conspiracies. The Committee for the State of Emergency set up by them, through your hands, subjects the people to a bloody internecine struggle.

"Comrades, I, a Soviet Army officer, colonel, and hero of the Soviet Union, who has travelled the fiery roads of Afghanistan and seen the horros of war, call on you, my comrade officers, soldiers, and sailors, not to act against your people, against your fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters. I appeal to your honor, as well as to your hearts. Today the destiny of the country, the destiny of its free, democratic development, lies in your hands. Do not allow bloodshed to occur, and do not give any support to the plotters. Impede in every way the implementation of their [words indistinct] designs.

"I call on you to go over to the side of the bodies of power legally elected by the people: the president of the Russian Federation and of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation.

"[Signed] Vice President of the Russian Federation Colonel Rutskoy."

Reaction to Coup Continues Throughout Republic

Group Set Up in Kamchatka

OW1908111991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On August 19 a session of the Kamchatka regional executive committee attended by the heads of its key departments, members of the presidium of the regional council, and media representatives formed a group for the state of emergency.

The aim of the group will be to respond to the developments in the region, work out and approve possible decisions. The group is led by the vice-chairman of the regional council Albert Usov.

Yakutia Leader Wants Confirmation of Decree

OW1908150791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1300 GMT19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The deputy leader of Yakutia's parliament in Irkutsk Vassiliy Vlasov says his republic won't take any measures to comply with resolutions by the government emergency state committee because of legal uncertainties about its status and functions.

In an interview with INTERFAX News Agency, he said the resolution by Vice-President Gennadiy Yanayev on imposing a state of emergency must be reaffirmed by the central parliament.

Mr. Vlasov said Yakutia's Supreme Soviet was preserving its structures and methods of work in line with the republic's Constitution. He said the decision had been coordinated with the leader of the Yakutian parliament Mikhail Nikolayev who left for Moscow on Sunday for the signing ceremony of a new Union treaty and is now in the Soviet capital.

Kemerovo Authorities Do Not Recognize Coup

OW1908235791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1754 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The presidium and the executive of Kemerovo's regional Council of People's Deputies said they did not recognize the State Committee for the state of emergency [SCSE] considering it a body which did not have legal grounds at the moment of its creation. The presidium denounced the events of August 19 as a coup attempt.

In their appeal to the people of Kuzbass they urged members of the law-enforcement bodies, the KGB, servicemen and employees of the military transport aviation not to obey decisions and decrees by the SCSE and prevent it from setting up its subordinate bodies in the territory of the Kemerovo region.

Kemerovo Calls Decree Unconstitutional

LD2008094391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0600 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] TRUD reports that, immediately after the news of the introduction of the state of emergency was received, a routine meeting of the presidium of the executive committee of the Kemerovo oblast soviet was held jointly with leaders of workers' committees, trade unions, and Ministry of Internal Affairs and KGB bodies. The meeting adopted an address to the residents of the Kuzbass, speaking about non-recognition of the State Committee for the State of Emergency, as it is a body created unconstitutionally. Kemerovo oblast is an inseparable part of Russia and, in the view of those who assembled, should be subordinate only to the will and instructions of the president and government of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. In conclusion, an appeal was made to maintain calm and to exercise restraint. A decision was made to convene an extraordinary session of the Kemerovo oblast soviet in the next few days to discuss the situation. Tuleyev, chairman of the oblast soviet, has left by air for Moscow for consultations with the government of Russia.

Chelyabinsk Authorities To Take No Action

OW1908235191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1754 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The City Council in the city of Chelyabinsk and the city Communist Party committee decided to take no actions for three days.

According to IF [INTERFAX], the city looks quiet at first glance. There was a rally at a refrigerator depot that passed a resolution supporting the constitutional elected authorities and attacking the coup organizers. The workers set up a committee for the constitutional defense of the working masses.

Kuzbass Workers' Committee Calls for Strike

OW2008000491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1754 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Council of Kuzbass' workers' committees called an indefinite political strike in the territory of the Kemorovo region, the co-chairman of the Workers' Union city committee, Mr. Aleksey Solovyev told IF.

In its statement issued at a session in Prokopyevsk on August 19, the Council called President Gorbachev's removal illegal and said it did not recognize the "self-proclaimed" State Committee for the state of emergency [SCSE].

The Kuzbass' Council called on all military units in the territory of Kuzbass not to obey decrees by the SCSE.

Goods, Commodities Exchange Stops Business

OW2008014791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2320 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Goods and Commodities Exchange, Russia's largest (annual turnover: 2 bn. Rubles), declared that "in connection with the latest developments in our country and Russian President Boris Yeltsin's call for a general strike" it stopped business until September 1 this year. The Nationwide Software Exchange also suspends operations for 10 days.

Vorkuta Mines Strike

LD2008053691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0430 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] From 0000 this morning five of Vorkuta's 13 mines have declared a strike. Miners of the Vorgashorskaya pit, who did not have a single day's stoppage when all the coal enterprises of the Polar region were on strike this spring, have ceased extracting and unloading coal.

The Yuzhnaya, Tsentralnaya, Vorkutinskaya, and Yun-Yaga mines are not working, either.

Yuriy Kovalenko, a member of the Vorkuta city workers's strike committee, told our correspondent: We do not believe that Gorbachev is ill. We agree fully with

Yeltsin's statement. We will strike until Yanayev and his comrades on the committee give up their powers.

The remaining eight mines of Vorkuta are working. All the mines of the Inta-ugol concern near Vorkuta are all working, too.

Sverdlovsk City Calls For Strike

LD2008073491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0600 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] The presidium of the Sverdlovsk city soviet has supported the appeal to the citizens of Russia signed by the republic's leadership and it has called on residents of the city to declare a strike today. However, the presidium of the Sverdlovsk Oblast soviet has not supported this decision since a stoppage in production would threaten a complete disintegration of the economy and a hungry winter. The oblast association of state enterprises holds the same position. The Bureau of the Sverdlovsk CPSU Oblast committee has called for peace and accord. At the oblast soviet presidium sitting, it was decided to hold a session where the situation in the country and in Sverdlovsk Oblast would be discussed.

Tyumen Supports RSFSR Laws

LD2008094791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0805 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] The oil and gas fields of Tyumen oblast are operating normally. Labor collectives are maintaining their self-possession and remain calm. For the time being they are not undertaking any extreme actions. Speaking on television, (Shafrannik), chairman of the oblast soviet of people's deputies, stated that local administration will continue to be carried out by popularly elected soviets. All the laws of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, whose jurisdiction Tyumen oblast comes under, are also going to be rigorously observed.

Petrozavodsk City Condemns Emergency Decree

LD2008101391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 0900 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] In the evening of 19 August, the Petrozavodsk City Council Presidium condemned the unconstructive action of the State Committee for the State of Emergency and declared that the laws of Russia are effective on the territory of the Karelian capital. The session was not attended by representatives of the Army and KGB.

However, Igor Yunash, chief of the Petrozavodsk City Internal Affairs Department, associated himself with the decision, which was adopted unanimously.

Democratic Russia 'Warns' Yeltsin Over Treaty

PM1608145891 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Aug 91 p 1

[Statement by Coordinating Council of the "Democratic Russia" movement under the general heading "Union Treaty Open for Signing 20 August. Tension Mounts Over This Event": " 'Democratic Russia' Warns B.N. Yeltsin"]

[Text] Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich! The democratic public has conflicting feelings over Russia's intended signing of the Union treaty 20 August. There is no doubt that the need for well-considered compromises that avert the danger of civil war, a lowering of the level of confrontation in society, the political isolation of extreme right-wing reactionary forces, economic expediency, and other considerations in favor of an accord between the sovereign republics and the "center" are quite understandable and justifiable. But the question is what should be the nature of this accord, what price should both the republics and the "center" pay for it, and what guarantee is there that the latter will carry out its pledges or promises. We have quite a sad experience in this.

Various components of a pluralist sociopolitical association like "Democratic Russia" have their own—often very diverse—viewpoints on all these points. Among us are both advocates of the federal Union's being replaced by a confederation of sovereign republics or even a community of fully independent states, and adherents to a stronger form of association among the republics. But all political forces within our movement consider of fundamental importance the following conditions or procedures preliminary to and determining Russia's signing of the Union treaty.

1. That it should be simultaneously signed or a firm statement of intent given by at least the following four republics: the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], Kazakhstan, the Ukraine, and Belorussia.

2. That the final version of the treaty be discussed by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the Russian peoples familiarized with it.

3. That provisions that contravene the Declaration of RSFSR State Sovereignty and also that allow the adoption of the Union Constitution by the undemocratically elected Congress of People's Deputies or its subsidiary formation—the USSR Supreme Soviet—be excluded from the Union treaty or appendices to it .

4. That the treaty define the procedure for republics' seceding from the Union.

5. That there be stipulations in the treaty precluding the inclusion in the Union of republics that permit flagrant breaches of human rights and genocide.

In our opinion, the signing of the new Union treaty heralds the simultaneous suspension of the old treat, with all the juridical consequences ensuring therefrom. In view of this only a Constituent Assembly elected on democratic principles by citizens of republics that sign the treaty can constitute the organs of the new Union.

If the above terms are not met, the signing of the Union treaty in full for an unlimited term on 20 August may disorient and confuse the democratic forces who are the bulwark of the new structures of power in Russia and cause tension between the president and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. We are convinced that the enemies of progressive transformations and Russian sovereignty will not fail to take advantage of this. Nor can we fail to draw your attention to the fact that in the absence of a federal treaty and new Russian Constitution, the signing of the Union treaty harbors the risk that the Union treaty rather than Russian voters will be the source of our republic's constitutional system, not to mention the threat of the collapse of the Russian Federation.

Signing the treaty 20 August for a limited term (up to a year) and excluding from it points that determine the system of and procedure for forming organs of Union power may be a way out of this situation. The Constituent Assembly, which will adopt decisions on this point, should be elected during the operation of the provisional treaty.

Only then—and provided that the other terms above are observed—can the Union treaty be signed in full for a long or unlimited term.

[Signed] The Coordinating Council of the "Democratic Russia" movement.

Democratic Russia 'Warning' to Yeltsin Attacked

PM1908092491 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2

[Article by Ye. Sorokin under the "Notes a Propos" rubric: "Eternal Oppositionists?"]

[Text] On 16 August ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA published a sensationalist statement by the coordinating council of the "Democratic Russia" movement. Those who only recently were ardent supporters of the Russian president are warning him, in a form resembling an ultimatum, against signing the Union treaty 20 August. "Democratic Russia" sees Russia's participation in the reform of the Union as dependent on a series of conditions whose fulfillment would basically torpedo the formation of the new union state.

At the same time a group of the most zealous "defenders of democracy"—from the priest G. Yakunin to the former defender of communism Yu. Afanasyev, a total of 25 people at present—put this demand to B. Yeltsin: Unless he accepts these conditions, "we reserve the right to consider the Union treaty legally invalid."

So there you are. The "true democrats" scorn the results of the nationwide referendum, the many months of work by their authorized representatives at Novo-Ogarevo, and the compromise achieved there.

The step taken by "Democratic Russia" casts light on the true aspirations of its representatives and the goals they pursue. It is alleged that the treaty was not discussed by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, which is simply a lie. In fact, the Russian parliament contributed a lot of amendments to it, and after each session at Novo-Ogarevo R. Khasbulatov briefed the deputies in detail on the course of work on the treaty and the disagreements that had arisen.

It is quite obvious that the people's well-being is the last thing the representatives of "true democracy" are worried about. Obviously the main aim of the move is to put B. Yeltsin in his place, because the horse they were backing has turned out to be too frisky and capable of making its own decisions. It is noteworthy that the ultimatum came literally the day after the president's meeting with the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, in the course of which the two leaders reached a high degree of agreement. Could the "democrats" have been alarmed when they sensed the approach of the long-awaited peace between various political forces in Russia? If so, this is immoral to put it mildly, because Russia's fate is now being used as a counter in the game of inflamed ambitions.

Having no constructive program, they sensed the ground slipping away from under their feet: Who knows, maybe the people will forget about the "great troublemakers"—Denisenko, Afanasyev, Yakunin, and their ilk.

Belorussia

Deputies Call Extraordinary Session

LD2008100991 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belorussian 0650 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] A group of people's deputies of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic have called on their colleagues to put their signatures on a statement calling for the convocation of an extraordinary session of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet. The statement is published by NARODNAYA GAZETA.

Ukraine

Kravchuk Appeal, Rukh Reaction To Developments

OW1908234091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1754 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Leonid Kravchuk said in an emergency appeal that the Ukrainian leadership upholds restraint and the need for compliance with the constitution and laws and the defense of democracy. According to him, the creation of extraconstitutional power structures is inadmissible. According to Kravchuk, it will take time to understand what is taking place. Assessments will be forthcoming at a later time; the presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet is at work on them.

The head of the Ukrainian parliament declared that the republic is not under emergency rule and the legitimate authorities do not plan to introduce it. They are in full control of the situation and plan to stay within the law and observe the Ukrainian constitution. He called for joint effort to prevent a stand-off and confrontation and for the industry and offices to work at a normal tempo.

An emergency sitting of the Rukh popular movement in the Ukraine declared the actions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency unlawful and demanded that the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet condemn them officially as unlawful.

Kravchuk Assesses Situation

LD1908233391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Interview in Kiev with L.M. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, by unidentified correspondent on 19 August; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] What is your assessment of the current situation?

[Kravchuk] You know, it may seem strange but I shall say that sacramental formula—what happened was bound to happen. Perhaps not in this form, perhaps some kind of other actions, but the situation could not remain as it was—a situation without power, when the center was in no state to rule, and power was not handed over to the republics; on the contrary, the republics acted in the corresponding manner. Naturally, all that was bound to come to such a lamentable, as I would put it, outcome.

It is lamentable because hundreds of telephone calls have been coming in to the Supreme Soviet today and people are worried. The history of our country has been a complicated and dramatic one. They all ask one question: Will that not mean a return to lawlessness? Will all that be on the firm basis of the law, of the constitution? Will the democracy for which our people have suffered so much be maintained? This is the main question today. But I want to say that here in the Ukraine the situation, thank God as they say, is for the moment a stable one. I would say that the labor and political pulse of life is beating in accordance with the situation which has taken shape today, but there are no underground tremors. People understand their responsibility, they are working. I think that people are giving a meaning to what has happened, but we think the following today. Instead of going ahead at the present time, anticipating the entire situation which might occur tomorrow, we should ensure the working rhythm today. That is how we are acting. [video shows interviewer with Kravchuk in an office]

Moldova

Government Reacts to Coup, Situation in Moscow

Bans Central Press, SCSE Material

LD2008094291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Valeriy Muravskiy, the prime minister of the Republic of Moldova, has issued orders banning the dissemination of TRUD, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNJA, PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, SOVETSKAYA ROOSIYA, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA and SELSKAYA ZHIZN newspapers on the territory of Moldova. The head of the Moldovan Government has warned the editors of republican, town and rayon newspapers that if they publish material from the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] in the USSR then their pubications will be banned.

Snegur Sets Up Supreme Security Council

OW2008111091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1044 GMT 20 Aug 91

[From "Issue No. 3"; item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking at a fifty-thousand-strong rally in Chisinau [Kishinev] this morning, President Mircha Snegur of Moldova said a supreme security council had been set up in the republic. He emphasised that the Moldova government fully supported the decisions of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian

Federation and President Boris Yeltsin. "Both our parliament and government," he said, "remain loyal to the ideals of Moldova's independence."

Our correspondent reports that there were movements of troops in the suburbs of Chisinau during the night. In view of this, Snegur appealed to the capital's population in the small hours to defend the city.

Church bells were rung and fire brigade sirens were sounded for several minutes to wake people up and make them listen to the government's appeal on the radio. All roads leading into the city were blocked by motor vehicles.

Meanwhile, the government of Moldova banned the circulation within the republic of the eight central dailies allowed by the State Emergency Committee. The Government motivates this by "the necessity to prevent the circulation of any anticonstitutional materials, which may lead to the aggravation of the social and political situation in the republic".

Tomorrow in Chisinau, the Moldovan Parliament meets for an emergency session.

Snegur's Appeal to Citizens

AU1908180891 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev] radio station has broadcast tonight an appeal by the president of the Republic of Moldova, Mr. Mircha Snegur.

During 18-19 August 1991 the president of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev was removed from his position. An unconstitutional body, the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency in the Soviet Union, is trying to impose on all sovereign republics a coup-type diktat. All declarations and decisions of this alleged committee mean nothing but a violation of people's rights to self-determination and the obstruction of their aspiration to the independence and sovereignty of their country.

On behalf of the leadership of the republic, I declare that our position and line toward independence remain unchanged and in our domestic and foreign policy we will observe the constitution and Moldova's laws. If force is used from the outside to hand over the supreme power in the republic to an unlawful body, I call on the people to maintain public order and calm and under no circumstances should they cooperate with those structures. In these difficult moments it is necessary to consolidate all constructive forces to give a resolute riposte to those involved in the coup and to defend the sacred ideals of our people, President Mircha Snegur said.

[Bucharest ROMPRES in English at 1725 GMT on 19 August in an identical report adds the following: "The text of the appeal was approved during a special meeting of the presidium of the parliament and the government of the republic held in the afternoon of 19 August."]

Snegur Interrupts Holiday, Condemn's Coup

AU1908153791 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1415 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Telephone Dispatch by Valeriu Vasilica from Chisinau [Kishinev]—live or recorded]

[Text] The state coup that took place last night in Moscow has caused tension in the social-political situation throughout the territory of the Soviet Union and abroad.

The great majority of the official structures of the sovereign republics have already publicized their positions, which vehemently condemn the actions of those involved in the coup.

Based on information we have, this same position is now being formulated at the extraordinary meeting of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Republic of Moldova. This document is not yet finalized at this hour, but the principled attitude has already been announced in a speech by the parliamentary vice president, Mr. Ion Hadarca, over the national radio-television network.

The sovereignty, the freedoms, and democratic transformations in Moldova are threatened, he said. He also characterized last night's events as a state coup and the committee that has proclaimed itself as the body of the supreme state power as an illegal body.

In Moldova, all structures and the central and local state bodies continue to function under the leadership of the republic. It has been specified that the president of the republic, Mr. Mircha Snegur, has interrupted his vacation and is now in Chisinau at the extraordinary meeting of the Parliament Presidium; he will also chair, beginning at 1630 [1330 GMT], the joint meeting of the Parliament Presidium and the Government of the Republic of Moldova.

There are enough reasons to worry, Mr. Ion Hadarca said, when he informed the public about an attempt of certain reactionary forces on the territory of the republic, namely, to extend the consequences of the state coup on Moldova as well.

Thus, at 1100, Generals (?Osipov) and Kulikov asked for an audience with the prime minister of the republic. The first is the chief of staff of the South-West Group, headquartered in Chisinau, of the defunct Warsaw Military Pact and the second is the military commissar of the republic. Both asked that the Moldovan parliament's decision of January prohibiting the joint patrolling of military and interior forces in the localities of the republic be canceled, a demand that was obviously rejected. Parliamentary decisions can be canceled only by parliament.

General Kulikov insisted on telling the republic's leadership that he has been appointed military commander of Chisinau.

Concluding his speech on the national radio-television network, Mr. Ion Hadarca said we condemn the state coup and we will not permit that its consequences extend on Moldova's territory. The calm and self-control the people are called upon to preserve have to serve once again as an argument for the seriousness of our intentions toward freedom and prosperity.

First Deputy Refuses Joint Patrols

AU1908183891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1731 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/8/1991—In his televised address, to which we have already referred, Ion Hadarca, first deputy speaker of the parliament of the Republic of Moldova, said that in the morning of 19 August at 11:00 hours, the Supreme Commander of the South-West Army Troops, Osipov, and the Commissar of the Republic Kolesov, attempted to forcefully take over control of the capital city of the Republic of Moldova. While calling on Prime Minister V. Muravskiy, they demanded the cancellation of the Moldovan Parliament's decision regarding the forbidding of the OMPN troops' patrolling in joint formations with Moldova's police. The demand was rejected as it ran counter to constitutional norms, and because that was a problem falling within the Moldovan Parliament's competence.

Ion Hadarca also informed that General Kolesov tried to take over the leadership of the military authorities in Chisinau [Kishinev] asserting that he was appointed to the post of military commander of Chisinau by the State of Emergency Committee in Moscow. The officials of the Republic of Moldova did not accept it.

Snegur Wants Republican Constitution Observed

OW2008012691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2320 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldova's President Mircha Snegur described the developments on the night of August 18/19 as a "military coup d'etat." He noted that the republican leadership would observe the republican constitution and laws. In case power is transferred to other structures through the use of force, Snegur called on all Moldova citizens to show restraint and not to cooperate with them in any manner.

Government's Response To Emergency Rule

OW2008010991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1754 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] First deputy chairman of the Moldova parliament Ion Hadarca told [as received] in a republican TV appearance that the creation of the State Committee for the State of Emergency and the decisions it passed were "unlawful."

He noted that the USSR president "has immunity and cannot be relieved from responsibilities unless by decision of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies."

First deputy chairman of the republican parliament emphasized that the decisions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency "were not legally valid in the republican territory" and called on the local authorities to obey the parliament. He appealed to the nation "to keep calm, avoid conflicts and violence to prevent the moving of troops" into the republic.

He also supported the convocation of an emergency Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

Moldova's President Mircha Snegur interrupted his vacation and returned to Kishinev. There are plans to hold a joint parliamentary sitting of Moldova's parliament presidium and government to adopt an official statement.

Snegur Stresses Unchanged Independence Policy

LD1908204891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Video report from Kishinev by correspondent M. Sokirke—from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Sokirke] The atmosphere in Moldova today remained calm and, on the surface, was little different from previous days. Only in the park near the monument to Stefan the Great and at the entrance to national television did fairly large groups of people gather. [video shows people sitting in a park with a Romanian flag, other people grouped round a man with a radio]

An emergency session of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the government of Moldova took place. It discussed the operational political situation, heard a number of proposals from heads of ministries and adopted a joint statement by the presidium and government. [video shows meeting in progress]

Moldovan President Mircha Snegur expressed the republic's position on the events in the country in an interview for the Vremya program and in his appeal to the people. He said, in particular:

[Snegur] On behalf of the republic's leadership, I state that our position and our policy of independence remain unchanged, and that we shall be guided in our domestic and foreign policy by the constitution and laws of Moldova. But if force is used from outside to transfer supreme power in the republic to an illegal formation, I call on the people to keep calm and maintain public

order and not to collaborate with its structures in any form. [video shows Snegur speaking, backed by Romanian flag]

People's Front Appeal to Citizens

AU1908161791 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1500 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Appeal from the People's Front of Moldova to the citizens of the Republic of Moldova]

[Text] Fellow Citizens! A state coup took place in Moscow this morning. Gorbachev was removed from power. Power is in the hands of the military-industrial complex and of the Soviet organs of reprisal, which have installed a military dictatorship in the Soviet Union. Reactionary and revanchist forces are seek to put an end to democratic processes.

Fellow Citizens! Let us all come out and defend democracy and our freedom. Let us all come to Chisinau [Kishinev], to the Great National Assembly Square and defend the national radio and television building, the Parliament, and the government headquarters.

Let us prove to ourselves as well as to the whole world that no dictatorship can frighten us, no matter how hard and bloody it is.

Let us show civil disobedience to the new authorities who have seized power despotically. Let us not forget that the country is with us. We believe that our brothers in Romania will show solidarity with us in these crucial moments for our nation.

Let us be united in our thinking and actions. Our movement of national liberation cannot be stopped. The victory lies in our unity.

Economic Accord With RSFSR Reached

OW1308010691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia and Moldova have concluded an agreement on the principles of trading and economic cooperation for 1992. The ceremony took place in Kishinev on Monday.

All transactions between industries and organizations of the two republics concerning basic goods will be carried out on the basis of world prices and clearing. Other goods will be supplied at bargain prices.

"This agreement will let us stabilize, to a certain extent, the situation in the economy, finances and, ultimately, in the consumer market", Moldova's Prime Minister Valeriy Muravskiy said after the agreement was signed.

Russia's Prime Minister Ivan Silayev said that of the many programs launched on the basis of direct ties with all republics, the Russia-Moldova program has been most successful of all despite certain drawbacks.

Silayev Departs for Moscow

LD1208190191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Aug 91

[Text] Today a meeting was held between Silayev and Snegur, the president of Moldova. During the meeting issues of the republic's domestic political life were touched upon. Russian Prime Minister Silayev has left for Moscow.

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia Statement on Emergency Situation

Calls for Calm, Discipline

LD1908163391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1554 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Tbilisi, 19 Aug (TASS)—In connection with the creation of a State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR, the president of Georgia, the presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the government of this Transcaucasian republic have issued a statement which says in particular that "in the situation which has arisen, calm must be maintained and order and discipline observed." According to a report from SAKINFORM, the republic's news agency, the statement contains an appeal to central and local bodies of power and to public and political organizations in Georgia and the autonomous republics "to take account of the need for coordinated actions." "We call on everyone," says the statement, "to go to their places of work, carry out their duties, not to submit to provocation, not to allow unauthorized actions, and to obey the instructions of the Georgian bodies of power." The statement expressed confidence that this is the only way in which civil peace and political stability can be safeguarded in the republic.

INTERFAX on Georgian Reaction

OW1908150091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1300 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In a brief statement on the declaration of a state of emergency in the Soviet Union, the Georgian president, parliament, and cabinet have called on Georgians for calm and normal work without yielding to provocations. The Georgian leaership described the events on Monday as "a total surprise."

More on Response to Emergency

PM1908231991 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 20 Aug 91 p 2

[By Nika Kvizhinadze on "Statement by the President of the Republic of Georgia and the Supreme Soviet Presidium and Government of the Republic of Georgia" carried under the general heading "The Country, 19 August"]

[Text] Our correspondent Nika Kvizhinadze reports from Tbilisi that a statement by the president of the Republic of Georgia and the Supreme Soviet Presidium and government of the Republic of Georgia has been broadcast on radio and television.

As has become known through the mass media of the Soviet Union, in accordance with the USSR Constitution, Vice President Yanayev started performing the duties of USSR president on 19 August 1991, given that Mikhail Gorbachev is unable to do so because of the state of his health. A six month state of emergency was declared in certain regions of the Soviet Union from 0400 hours—Moscow time—on 19 August. The specific regions affected by the state of emergency have not been indicated. A USSR State Committee for the State of Emergency has been set up. These statements came as a surprise to the Georgian authorities. The president of the Republic of Georgia and the Supreme Soviet Presidium and government of the Republic of Georgia consider that the main thing in the prevailing situation is to maintain calm, order, and discipline. We urge central and local organs of power and public and political authorities of the Republic of Georgia and autonomous republics to take account of the prevailing situation and the need for coordinated action. We urge everyone to report for work, to carry out their official duties, not to yield to provocation, to prevent unauthorized actions, and to obey the instructions of the Georgian organs of power. We are certain that this is the only way that civil peace and political stability can be safeguarded in our republic. We hope that the population of the Republic of Georgia will exhibit great civic awareness and responsibility. [statement ends]

All is calm on the streets of Tbilisi at present.

Gamsakhurdia Issues Decree on Military Commissariats

LD1608201991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of Georgia, has instructed the government to decide within the month whether it is expedient to allocate buildings and material means in the future to military commissariats of the USSR Ministry of Defense which exist on the territory of the Republic of Georgia. The decree issued on this matter underlines that the military commissariats serve only the interests of the Soviet Army. In order to provide the manning for the National Guard of sovereign Georgia, call-up commissions and military sections are working in the prefectures of towns and rayons. Other motives are being put forward to explain the reasons for the decree of the president of Georgia.

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan Comments on State of Emergency

Calls For Stability, Prudence

NC1908184491 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 19 Aug 91

["Appeal by Levon Ter-Petrosyan to the Citizens of Armenia"; read by announcer]

[Text] Dear compatriots, serious developments and changes are taking place in the Soviet Union, and unforeseeable events and [word indistinct] may arise. At

this crucial moment I call on you (?to trust us), and remain calm and maintain law and order.

The interests of the republic and our people require the maintenance of a stable political situation, the ensurance of the public law and order and an effective working mechanism.

Any self-motivated act or unconsidered step might cause distorted interpretations and could engender short-sighted reaction.

The Armenian authorities are in constant contact with the Soviet Union's central authorities, the Union and republican leaders and with the Army commanders stationed in Armenia, and are in full control of the situation in the republic.

The presidia of the Armenian Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers are in permanent session.

I am sure that all the public and political organizations and all the parties will realize the seriousness of the situation and rise above party and group interests and use all their powers to stabilize the sociopolitical situation in the republic.

It is obvious that stability of the overall situation in the republic is the only way to evade unnecessary losses and tragic tribulations that might result if events take a certain course.

I am confident in your sagacity and (?prudence), which you displayed during the last years of the national liberation struggle.

The Armenian authorities have [word indistinct] their loyalty to the [word indistinct] principles of democracy and law-based state, and will do everything to ensure stability in the republic.

Briefs Party Leaders on Developments

NC1908194991 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, met on 19 August with Armenian public and political organization representatives, as well as with mass media (?directors).

He briefed them on the country's new situation and noted that, moved by the interests of the republic and the Armenian people, it is necessary to maintain political stability and law and order in Armenia and to display [word indistinct] peculiar to the Armenian people, and not to succumb to [word indistinct].

It was stressed that any short-sighted action might only exacerbate the situation.

An agreement was reached on what actions the political forces and mass media should take.

It also was noted that in line with an understanding reached with the leadership of [word indistinct], Babken Ararktsyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, left for Nagorno-Karabakh at noon to conduct negotiations on the fate of the servicemen taken hostage there.

Hostage Negotiations End Successfully

LD1908195391 Moscow TASS in English 1721 GMT 19 Aug 91

[By Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert August 19 TASS—An agreement has been reached on the liberation of all the 40 soldiers of the Soviet Interior Ministry formations, who were taken hostage five days ago in the Armenian village of Aterk of the Mardakert region of the Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Armenian side guarantees the liberation of 12 soldiers today by 20:00 Moscow time. The rest will be freed during this night, deputy head of the headquarters of the Interior troops of the Soviet Interior Ministry Major-General Valeriy Starikov told TASS.

Thus, the four-day-long negotiations with the participation of the military and people's deputies of the USSR, Russia and Armenia on the peaceful settlement of the hostage problem have ended successfully.

Azerbaijan

President Mutalibov Leaves for Iran

LD1608153591 Moscow TASS in English 1517 GMT 16 Aug 91

[By AZINFORM-TASS]

[Text] Baku August 16 TASS—Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov left Baku for Tehran today. He will pay an official visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran at the invitation of its government.

"A new political course, aimed at the renewal of our society and the Creic Ujlof a sovereign state in Azerbaijan, opens up extensive opportunities for the expansion of economic and cultural relations with other countries," Mutalibov told journalists before the departure. He described the strengthening of relations with eastern countries, primarily with Turkey and Iran, as "natural and positive."

"We are going to Iran with concrete proposals on the expansion of mutually advantageous cooperation, the deepening of good neighbourly and fraternal relations," he pointed out. The Azerbaijani president expressed hope that talks and meetings with senior executives from the Iranian Government would be held in a constructive and businesslike atmosphere and that their results would be useful for bilateral cooperation in all spheres of life.

Iranian Governor: Baku Status 'Peculiar'

LD2008085091 Tehran IRNA in English 0658 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Astara, Gilan Province, Aug 20, IRNA—Governor of Astara, Gilan Province, on Iran-Soviet border, Rezaei who has just returned from Baku, capital of the Soviet Azerbaijan Repbulic, said overall situation in the Republic was quite "peculiar" in the aftermath of the removal of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev from power. However, he added that life went on in the city as usual.

On his observations, Rezaei who came back from Baku after several days of visit to the republic Monday afternoon, said for several hours after the ousting of Gorbachev and declaration of state of emergency most people and officials of the republic were unaware of the development.

Gorbachev was ousted on Monday by hardliners and was replaced by Vice President Gennady Yanayev. Immediately after the dismissal a state emergency committee led by Yanayev was formed and state of emergency was declared. Yanayev said Gorbachev had stepped down for health reasons. The dismissed Soviet president has been accused of leading the country towards chaos and anarchy.

More on his observations Rezaei told IRNA that pictures of the ousted Gorbachev were removed from the government buildings. He added that telecommunication services were operating normally and that before leaving Baku he called Iran with no difficulty.

Rezaei added that on his way back he saw no troops on the way in the city of Baku. He added that the agriculture minister and several presidential advisors of the republic arrived in Iran's east Azerbaijan provincal capital of Tabriz Monday afternoon.

Meanwhile, the head of the Astara customs office said throughout Monday only 60 residents of the Soviet border areas entered the Iranian territory. However, in previous weeks every day some 200 of them arrived in Astara.

He said the overthrow of Gorbachev was not the reason for the decline in the number of visitors but was because of a confrontation between the travellers and the customs officials on the Soviet side of the border.

Situation Remains Calm

LD2008112191 Tehran IRNA in English 0957 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Astara, Gilan Province, Aug 20, IRNA—Despite the unexpected removal of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev from power on Monday, the situation in the neighbouring Soviet Azerbaijan republic continues to remain calm and border residents continue to cross into Iran in Astara, a report said here Tuesday morning.

However, an informed law enforcement source told IRNA here that the number of border guards on the Soviet side has been increased considerably but there is no sign of stationing of tanks and heavy arms.

A principal of a school in the Soviet border city of Lenkoran, Aidin Muhamedov, told IRNA that absence of a unified leadership and loss of control over the country had pushed the Soviet Union to the brink of collapse. He added that every Soviet republic was calling for independence. Consequently, he added, transport of food and other essentials between the republics had stopped and the country was threatened by famine.

Iranian passengers arriving from Lenkoran here Tuesday claimed that the Soviets seemed pleased with the removal of Mikhail Gorbachev from power because they hold him responsible for the famine and political instability in the country.

The passengers categorically denied presence of army tanks in the streets of the republican capital of Baku and other cities.

Meanwhile, Baku radio has stopped its regular broadcasts and is relaying Radio Moscow's programs. Baku television has completely stopped broadcasting.

Meanwhile, residents of Iran's Astara showed little interest to cross to the Soviet side of the border and at the same time fewer Soviet travellers arrived in Iran from the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan. Value of the Soviet currency, ruble, against rial of Iran dropped to 32 from the previous exchange rate of 63.

Kyrgyzstan

President Addresses People on Crisis

Akayev Comments on State Emergency

OW1908172691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1404 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday, President of Kyrgyzstan Askar Akayev addressed the people of his republic in connection with the forming of the SEC [State Emergency Council] and imposition of a state of emergency in several areas of the USSR.

As the president of Kyrgyzstan, said Askar Akayev, elected in accordance with the republic's Constitution and performing his functions based on the declaration of sovereignty, he addresses the people of Kyrgyzstan prompted by anxiety and concern.

Nevertheless the president of Kyrgyzstan said he hoped that democracy and common sense will triumph. He will do all he can to protect his republic's sovereignty and ensure public order and lawfulness, he said. A. Akayev urged the people of Kyrgyzstan to display calm, wisdom, common sense, unity, and respect for the Constitution and laws of the USSR and Kyrgyzstan. A. Akayev pointed to the need for the people to continue to work in a quiet and businesslike atmosphere and ensure order and discipline.

"State power in our republic functions in the name of the people, in the interests of the people", the President said in his address. He will continue to pursue a policy aimed at strengthening civic peace, heightening national accord and raising living standards, said Askar Akayev.

Urges Calm, Respect for Law

LD1908180791 Bishkek Radio Bishkek Network in Kyrgyz 1500 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Address by Aksar Akayev, president of the Kyrgyz Republic; Akayev remarks accompanied by passage-by-passage translation into Russian, also delivered by Akayev; place not given, on 19 August—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear television viewers and radio listeners: Today, on 19 August 1991, the decree on relieving Gorbachev, president of the USSR, from his post has been issued as was the announcement of the Soviet leadership on introducing a state of emergency in separate territories of the country and on forming the State Committee for the State of Emergency [words indistinct]. As president of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, elected in line with the Constitution, the basic law of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, and in carrying out my work on the basis of the declaration on state sovereignty, I appeal to the people of Kyrgyzstan with words full of alarm, worry, and also hope for the victory of common sense and democracy.

Everything the state powers are doing in our republic is being done for the sake of the people, for their interests. Most important, all this is under the supervision and with the agreement of the Supreme Soviet of the republic and national and other public and political associations and movements under the conditions of glasnost.

I therefore announce to the entire Union and to the international community that, as in the past, I will follow the course for strengthening civil peace and national reconciliation, for raising the standard of living of the people, for the [word indistinct] and privatization of state enterprises, support for the active and [word indistinct] entrepreneurial spirit, for the social protection of pensioners, young people, and families with many children.

As the head of state I will do everything to protect the republic's sovereignty and to provide public order and lawfulness. I appeal to the people of Kyrgyzstan in these difficult times to keep calm; be sensible and wise; promote unity; respect the Constitution, the basic law of the USSR and of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan; understand the need to continue working in their workplaces in a calm and (?businesslike) atmosphere; provide a high level of organization, order, and discipline.

Interior Minister Supports Akayev Appeal

OW1908201191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1754 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kyrgyzstan's interior minister, Mr. Felix Kulov, said his ministry's position coincided fully with the appeal by President Askar Akayev.

The President of Kyrgyzstan called on the republic's population to remain calm and to maintain respect to the Constitution and laws of the USSR and the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. He said also that he, being an elected president of the republic, carried out his duties on the basis of the Declaration of Kyrgyzstan's sovereignty.

The republic's interior minister said in his statement that no state of emergency would be declared in Kyrgyzstan.

It has been planned to use reinforced militia and OMON [special purpose militia detachment] patrols only to guard especially sensitive sites.

Kyrgyz KGB Chief Relieved of Duties

LD2008071891 Moscow TASS in English 0639 GMT 20 Aug 91

[By Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Bishkek August 20 TASS—The situation in the Central Asian Republic of Kyrgyzia remains calm. All enterprises and transport work, and umps [as received] are open.

In a decree published on Monday, President Askar Akayev relieved Dzhumabek Asankulov of the duties of chairman of the state security committee, meeting the KGB general's request to resign on pension.

Vice-President German Kuznetsov was appointed acting chief of the republican KGB.

Interior Minister Felix Kulov declared that he would act in accordance with laws of the republic and the USSR and obey all orders from President Akayev.

Interior Ministry troops took under protection of all major facilities.

Kyrgyz Communist Party Backs Emergency Committee

OW2008102891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0944 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kyrgyizia believes that the address of the Soviet leadership "gives profound substantiation to the necessity to adopt emergency measures in order to overcome the all-round crisis our society has found itself in".

In its statement published in Bishkek, the bureau expresses its support for the programme of the State Emergency Committee [SEC]. It supports, in particular, SEC's idea that the Union treaty problem should be solved on the basis of a nationwide referendum, the sovereignty of all the republics and the ensurance of equal rights for all nationalities living in them. The bureau believes that the temporary state of emergency introduced in some parts of the country should not prevent any of the republics from exercising their right to decide, on the basis of law, whether they should join the Soviet Union or not.

At the same time, the Party of National Revival, ASABA, agrees with the view that what happened in Moscow yesterday was a coup d'etat, "planned by the military industrial complex and the old party nomenklature".

Speaking in Bishkek, the ASABA leader, Chalyash Bazarbayev, said he hoped the Kyrgyz people would not support any bodies of power other than those legitimately elected and would respect the Constitution of their republic.

Uzbekistan

President Comments on State of Emergency

Supports Emergency Committee

OW2008102991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0944 GMT 20 Aug 91

[From "Express Edition No. 2"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan has expressed his support of the programme of the State Emergency Committee. Perestroyka, which gave rise to hopes for the democratic revival of Soviet society, has reached a dead end, he said at a meeting with the top party and economic leadership in Tashkent late last night.

Karimov emphasised that no strategy or clear concept had been developed for perestroyka, something he repeatedly drew Mikhail Gorbachev's attention to, but the latter, he said, did not seem to realise it and ignored his opinion.

According to Karimov, there is no need to introduce a state of emergency in Uzbekistan, for the social and economic situation there is fairly stable.

He said, however, that he still firmly supported the latest version of the Union treaty, for it is a carefully prepared and well-substantiated document, which reflects the interests of all the sides.

On 'Stable' Situation in Republic

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[By Vladimir Pruger]

[Text] Tashkent August 20 TASS—Uzbek President Islam Karimov has said that there is no need for a curfew in the republic. He told leaders of the soviet, party and economic organisations in Tashkent on Monday that the situation is stable in the republic and all enterprises and organisations work normally.

He blamed the absence of a clear-cut reform concept and a strategy of transformations for the failure of perestroika, which "has come to a deadlock".

Quoting the Uzbek saying "First build a new house and then turn down the old one", he stressed that things went the other way round in the country, making life worse than before.

He stressed that "democracy without order and discipline cannot do good to people. The more so since democracy and glasnost (openness) are often used to cover ambitions and strive for power".

Speaking on a Union treaty, Karimov reiterated his adherence to the version worked out in Novo-Ogarevo outside Moscow, which he called "a well elaborated and balanced document, which reflects the interests of all sides".